

# Indo-Portuguese History

## Sources and Problems

edited by

John Correia-Afonso, S.J.

Bombay

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Delhi Calcutta Madras

1981

*Oxford University Press*

OXFORD LONDON GLASGOW

NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON

NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM CAPE TOWN

KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI

© Oxford University Press 1981

Printed by Theodore A. Pereira at the Examiner Press  
35, Dalal Street, Bombay 400 023 and published by  
R. Dayal, Oxford University Press, Oxford House  
Apollo Bunder, Bombay 400 039.

# Contents

Introduction		vii
1 Church and Missionary Works on Indo-Portuguese History	<i>A. Mathias Mundadan</i>	1
2 Source Material from the Goa Archives	<i>V. T. Gune</i>	19
3 Archives and Libraries in Rome Concerning Portuguese India	<i>Joseph Wicki</i>	34
4 The Monsoon Codices at the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo	<i>A. da Silva Rego</i>	51
5 Indian History in the Cartorio dos Jesuitas	<i>John Correia-Afonso</i>	72
6 Portuguese Documents on Six- teenth Century India	<i>Genevieve Bouchon</i>	86
7 Portuguese Sources on Sixteenth Century Indian Economic History	<i>Luis Filipe Thomaz</i>	99
8 The Voiceless in Goan Historio- graphy	<i>Teotonio R. de Souza</i>	114
9 Some Second Thoughts on Indo- Portuguese Historiography	<i>C. R. Boxer</i>	132
10 The Portuguese Empire in India c. 1550-1650	<i>Anthony Disney</i>	148

vi     *Contents*

11	Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in the Indian Ocean	<i>G. V. Scammell</i>	163
12	Some Problems of Reconstructing the History of India's West Coast from European Sources	<i>Ashin Das Gupta</i>	174
13	Some Possible Fields of Research in the History of Portuguese India (16th-18th Centuries)	<i>C. R. Boxer</i>	183
	Contributors		195
	Index		197

# Introduction

THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR on Indo-Portuguese History, held very appropriately in Goa, at the end of November 1978, is worthy of note for several reasons. It brought together authorities on Indo-Portuguese history of the highest calibre, such as had never met before in India; it was the fruit of a long preparation and the generous collaboration of many scholars; it was a purely academic project launched by a private body, the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, but it was generously supported by both national and local authorities, and by non-official organizations such as the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Institute Menezes Braganza.

The starting point of this seminar was, on the one hand, the awareness of a relative stagnation in the field of Indo-Portuguese historical studies, especially in India. It has been said that the accounts of Portugal's overseas expansion by the historians of that country contain hardly any interpretation; they seem to fall merely into two categories: short and long. As for books in English, notwithstanding the writings of Charles Boxer, the standard works on the Portuguese in India still most used and quoted are those by F. C. Danvers and R. S. Whiteway; they are almost a century old and deficient in many respects. Few Indian historians, apart from Panduranga Pissurlencar, have made a substantial contribution to Indo-Portuguese historical studies, and the areas of political history, biography, social and economic history have been rather neglected.

On the other hand, the seminar was also born from the conviction that Indo-Portuguese historical sources are a mine whose surface has scarcely been scratched, and that its riches can be employed for a fuller study of those social, economic and cultural aspects of life with which History is increasingly concerned. These riches have been made more apparent and accessible in recent times by the invaluable publications of the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos (Lisbon), the Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu (Rome) and the Goa Historical Archives (Panjim).

Thus, the seminar first fixed its attention on sources — both secondary and primary — of Indo-Portuguese history. The study

of the former entailed the consideration of major historical works. A. Mathias Mundadan reviewed Church and missionary productions on Indo-Portuguese history, and besides making a general evaluation he assessed individually the three classical works of Sebastião Gonçalves, Francisco de Souza and Paulo da Trindade. He was followed by Charles Boxer, whose point of departure was his own 1950 paper on 'Some Considerations on Portuguese Colonial Historiography'. While he surveyed the more recent writing on the subject, he also went further and raised important issues, which is why his paper has been placed in the second part of this volume.

Turning to primary sources, very practical introductions to the archives of Goa and Rome were presented by V. T. Gune and Joseph Wicki, whose papers provide a fascinating glimpse of the riches of these repositories, and are a valuable guide for research students new to the field. A. da Silva Rego found it impossible to cover the entire resources of the Lisbon archives, such is their wealth of material of Indian interest, or even of just the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo. Instead he dealt only with the Lisbon part of the *Livros das Monções* or Monsoon Codices, the famous collection whose other half is to be found in the Goa Archives. His paper may read rather like an annotated catalogue, for it does not contain the author's spoken explanation and comments, but such a catalogue is no less a boon to the scholar. Also dealing with material in the Torre do Tombo, and likewise in the nature of an annotated catalogue, was John Correia-Afonso's account of the Cartório dos Jesuitas. It is a good sample of the historical material of Jesuit origin about Portuguese India, corroborating the author's thesis about the value of Jesuit letters for Indian history.

The final group of papers in the first part of this volume reveal the value of Portuguese sources on India from a variety of angles. Geneviève Bouchon calls attention to some important features of these sources that must be borne in mind: their authors were not just birds of passage but often residents in India for many years; they wrote at a turning point in the history of India and their documents are distinguished by a rigorous precision. In a similar strain, Luis Filipe Thomaz dwells on the fact that this Portuguese documentation, abundant for the earlier part of the sixteenth century, is of interest for the economic history of India and of the other countries bordering on the Indian Ocean, where documentation

of an economic character is rather scarce for the period. Though Portuguese historiography has till now given more importance to the trade between India and Europe via the Cape, Thomaz shows that the theatre of Portuguese operations in the East was vast, and that the trade carried on by the Portuguese between the various Asiatic regions was much greater than that, and was intimately connected with the economic structures of these regions. Finally, Teotonio de Souza, seeking to emphasize the urgency of bringing about a radical shift in the historiography of Goa in order to make it relevant in the context of its liberated status and its new prospects and challenges, pleads that the 'voiceless masses' of Goa be given a more prominent place in history, which can be done by exploring the extant records of the Church in Goa.

The seminar discussions on the above papers helped to underline the utility and need of a multidisciplinary study of the problems of Indian history, in a mutual understanding of Indian and Portuguese civilizations, and of eastern and western historical sources. Orientalists and historians of European expansion, it was said, have often worked as though along parallel paths, each group utilizing its own sources and adopting its own methods, without paying much attention to those of its neighbour. But today a trend seems to be emerging towards a new type of humanism, which tries to grasp the global aspect of the human phenomenon, and it is to be expected that the barriers separating the sciences will crumble. In the consideration of problems such as this was taken up the plea for a 'plural approach' made by Smt. Shashikala Kakodkar, Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu, in her inaugural address at the seminar.

The nature of some of these problems appears more clearly in the second part of this volume, an introduction to which is provided by the paper of Charles Boxer, mentioned earlier. In reviewing recent historiography, Boxer indicates the new lines of development and of future research, paying a generous tribute to V. Magalhães Godinho's magisterial and definitive work on the economy of the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, wherein he draws together the threads which connected Portugal's far-flung commercial and maritime empire. The nature of this empire is also the theme of Anthony Disney, who holds that the almost exclusive preoccupation of historians with the Portuguese dominions as a seaborne trading enterprise has resulted in an unbalanced

perception of Portuguese economic activities in India, whereas the Portuguese presence in India in the 1550-1650 period was to a significant degree not only seaborne but also landbound, so that the socio-economic historian should now ask more questions about the territorial impact of the Portuguese in India.

Geoffrey Scammell looks at Portuguese power from another angle, and considers the role of indigenous assistance in its establishment. He suggests that the art of empire-building was to find the ally within; the secret of imperial administration, to have done by others those things you could not or would not do yourself; and that the history of Goa is a prime field to test such hypotheses. The indigenous element in the history of India's west coast and the reconstruction of that history is viewed also by Ashin Das Gupta, with reference to European sources. He emphasizes that new questions have to be asked, and that while European documentation will still serve as the most important source for answering those questions, an effort must be made to get to the bottom floor of such archives, 'where the papers reveal an Indian face'.

The reflection on European and Indian sources leads us to refer to another major problem that surfaced more than once in the seminar — the difficulty presented to many scholars by Portuguese-language material. It was emphasized that in India especially the study of Portuguese language and civilization had to be fostered, and facilities for it provided; and it was reassuring to hear Dr A. R. Kulkarni, Chairman of the Indian Council of Historical Research, declare that that body had decided to institute fellowships for young research scholars keen to learn classical Portuguese, and had taken up seriously the programme of collection and publication of Portuguese source material.

As the seminar drew to its end, and papers touched on a wide variety of topics such as cartography and linguistics, the interest of the participants and observers increased rather than diminished. The focus had been on sources and problems, and it had been said that a source did not become a source until it was related to a problem. On the other hand, if one spoke of 'material' rather than 'sources', then the discussion of material would surely uncover problems for further study. Charles Boxer's concluding address on 'Possible Fields of Research in the History of Portuguese India' indicates how varied and interesting these problems are, and provides a valuable starting point for budding researchers.

It also helps one to see that these problems have many facets, and so may be examined by more than one discipline.

The seminar arrived at the following unanimous conclusions at its business session on the afternoon of 30 November 1978 :

1. While a general bibliography of Indo-Portuguese History would be a major project, feasible only with the assistance of an international fund or body such as UNESCO, efforts should be made to publish bibliographies of more limited fields within the major area, taking due notice of scholarly articles scattered amongst local periodicals and booklets.
2. There is need for critical editions of the principal Indian and Portuguese historical texts and classics of the period, reproducing them integrally and providing also an apparatus of notes and references.
3. The study of Portuguese accounts by linguists and ethnographers would help to identify places, peoples and products, and thus provide much information on ancient toponymy, onomastics and techniques.
4. The study of mutual Indo-Portuguese influences in the fields of language, art and folklore is important. In general an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of Indo-Portuguese history is to be fostered.
5. Specialists should be trained: in Portugal there is a need for Indologists, and for a revival of Sanskrit and Konkani studies (for which chairs exist at Lisbon University); in India the study of Portuguese language and civilization must be fostered.
6. Cartography and iconography are important fields which need to be developed: the archives have not been sufficiently explored for this type of material.
7. It would be most useful to have a newsletter published by an International Circle of Indo-Portuguese historians, with reviews of books, titles of theses and research projects, reports of congresses and seminars, etc.
8. The seminar should meet again, in two or three years' time, possibly in Portugal.

It was left to Dr S. N. Prasad, Director of the National Archives of India, to give utterance to the general sentiment in his presidential remarks at the closing session: '...[The] spirit of detachment and objectivity informed and illuminated the deliberations of our

Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History. We have listened to scholars from the old colonial powers condemning many aspects of colonial rule and exposing faults of the colonial chroniclers. And we have had papers by representatives of the subjugated peoples discussing colonial rule without bitterness or rancour. This, I venture to think, is the best augury for international friendship and cooperation, as well as the promotion of historical studies and closer cultural contacts. Our Seminar has opened a new chapter in the age-old and many-faceted relations between India and the friendly country of Portugal.'

This little volume contains only some of the papers presented at the Goa seminar, for it has not been possible to publish all of them. To their authors, to the other participants in the seminar who do not figure in these pages, and to the many others who contributed to the success of the gathering, go our sincerest thanks. In editing the papers, and particularly in the matter of the spelling of proper names and the style of the footnotes, we have generally respected the author's preferences, even with some detriment to the consistency of the volume as a whole.

It is just fifty years ago that a great Indian scholar, Mariano Saldanha, left Goa for Portugal for the first time. Before his departure he visited Rabindranath Tagore, and he took with him this personal message from the poet: 'I send my greetings to Portugal in recognition of her old bond of relationship with India and in expectation of the opening of a channel of cultural communication with her for the cause of Visva-Bharati, which is to create an international mind.'

It is our hope and prayer that in its own little way the International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History, organized by the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, will have pushed forward the frontiers of research, and will also have contributed to the creation of an international mind and a closer world fellowship.

*Bombay, October 1979*

*John Correia-Afonso, S.J.*

# 1

## Church and Missionary Works on Indo-Portuguese History

A. Mathias Mundadan

IN THE PREFACE TO MY BOOK *The Arrival of the Portuguese in India and the Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob, 1498-1552*,<sup>1</sup> I wrote : 'The European, vouching for history, whose historical sense was highly developed, unlike the speculative Indian, began recording from the beginning what he saw and heard in the new world. He took care also to perpetuate the record either by means of printed books or by treasuring manuscripts in the drawers of the archives. Students of history are not a little indebted to these efforts of the Portuguese.' It is a matter of great satisfaction that during the last few decades a concerted effort is being made to publish the vast Portuguese source materials lying in the various libraries and archives of Portugal and other countries.<sup>2</sup> The services of the 'Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos', therefore, deserve special praise. It has already published several volumes in such series as *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, and many individual volumes, besides two very useful periodicals: *Studia* and *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*. Much of the material contained in these publications is very valuable for Indo-Portuguese history. The Institute of Jesuit History in Rome—under the auspices of which are published *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, *Monumenta Xaveriana* and the review *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*—is rendering even more excellent service to this cause. The only possible regret is that very little of all this is available in English, a fact which restricts the use of the material to a narrow circle of scholars.

A good part of the Portuguese sources comes from the letters, reports and accounts of the missionaries who worked under the

Portuguese patronage or the Padroado. But for many years, the only sources of Portuguese mission history available to students were the following : the published annual letters of the Jesuit missionaries; some of the chronicles of Religious Orders; the reports of a few travellers; the correspondence of missionaries of non-Portuguese nations who entered the field from the middle of the 17th century onwards; and a few documents indicated by Civezza and others.

The picture which these sources presented of the missionary effort of the Portuguese is not considered to be adequate or balanced.<sup>3</sup> They needed to be supplemented substantially by contemporary correspondence and reports which were preserved in manuscript form. Hence the great value of the pioneer work done during the last half century by Schurhammer, Wicki, Silva Rego and a few others. Fr. Schurhammer spent a whole lifetime in writing the life of St. Francis Xavier. During the course of his research, he unearthed a great mass of documents and source-materials. He edited and published some and pointed out hundreds of others.<sup>4</sup> The monumental *Documenta Indica* series and the other works edited by Fr. Wicki, and the *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia* edited by Dr. Silva Rego are very significant contributions. Though the main interest of these pioneer scholars is church and missionary history of India, many of the documents published by them are quite important for writing the general history of India during the Portuguese domination over the Indian territories. Thanks to their thorough and painstaking labours, the wealth and worth of Portuguese missionary and church sources for Indo-Portuguese history has been greatly recognized now. Here we are concerned with histories and chronicles of the 16th and 17th centuries written by representatives of the missionary groups who worked in the Orient during that period.

The missionaries who first came to India with the Portuguese were Franciscans. Even more important than these, for many reasons, are the Jesuits from 1542 onwards. Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans, and a few other religious groups and diocesan clergy also worked in India. These orders possess chronicles and histories of their work in India. The more numerous and also authentic and valuable records are those of the Jesuits, who have a continuous chain of historians from the middle of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century. The main Jesuit works are those

of Manuel da Costa (1568), Giovanni Pietro Maffei (1588), Alessandro Valignano (1588), Giovanni Battista Peruschi (1597), Luis de Guzman (1601), Fernão Guerreiro (1603), Pierre du Jarric (1608), Sebastião Gonçalves (1614), Daniello Bartoli (1653-63), Hyacinth de Magistris (1661), and Francisco de Souza (1710).<sup>5</sup>

Next come the Franciscan chronicles and the earliest known is that of Paulo da Trindade (1635-36). He is followed by about half a dozen others: Miguel da Purificação (1640), Jacinto de Deus (1690), Fernando da Soledade (1705), Clemente de S. Iria (1722), Antonio da Piedade (1728), and Manoel de Montforte (1751).<sup>6</sup> At least one chronicle of the Dominicans, by Jacinto da Encarnação (1679), and three of the Augustinians by Antonio de Moraes (1629-32?), Manuel da Purificação (after 1720?), Manuel de Ave-Maria (1831 or after?) have come to us.<sup>7</sup> The works of Carmelite missionaries, G. Sebastiani de S. Maria (1666-72), and Vincenzo Maria de S. Catharina (1672) are important for the years in which the Portuguese power in India declined, especially as far as Kerala is concerned. For Kerala the following works or accounts are of particular interest: the lengthy reports of some Jesuits like Francisco Dionysio (1578), Antonio de Monserrate (1579), Francisco Roz (1604); the *Jornada* of Gouvea (1606) and its Latin adaptation by Raulin (1745); and particularly the *Historia do Malavar* of Diego Gonçalves, S. J. (1615).<sup>8</sup>

The historical value of these chronicles, histories, and accounts is to be judged on the basis of a few considerations like the following: These works are primarily concerned with the missionary activities of the religious communities or organizations to which they belong. An element of propaganda in praise of the 'heroes' of each group and their work cannot but find a place even in the most objective of them; nor are they immune from some of the usual Portuguese colonial and missionary biases of the time, and from the 'devout partiality' for the edifying and the miraculous. Further, it cannot be denied that the authors had quite often to depend for their information on sources, the objectivity and reliability of some of which have been rejected or disputed. Sometimes they even make conjectures regarding areas with which they were not familiar or for which they had no accurate information.

As against these shortcomings, there are a number of positive points which need to be stressed. At least a few of the writers are critical and reasonably cautious when they use secondary sources. It must be remembered that many of these writers had lived in India

for long years and held responsible positions before they took to writing their accounts. They had easy access to the archives, where a lot of the original correspondence and reports were stored and which have perished since then. Though their primary interest was men and matters of their Orders, at least a few show a wider interest. Therefore their usefulness not only for the history of Christianity in India during the 16th and 17th centuries, but also for the history of many a ruler of India, their dynasties, their possessions and policies, their administrative and economic systems, and in general for understanding the life, customs and practices of both Christian and non-Christian people of India is indeed great.

If we were to compare these histories and chronicles, it must be stated in all fairness that the Jesuit ones are the best. Fr. John Correia-Afonso calls them 'products of the Jesuit Letters', the great value of which is the scope of his study in the book *Jesuit Letters*. . . .<sup>9</sup> All the Jesuit histories are works of authors who had made a careful scrutiny of good source material. Four of them, Valignano, De Magistris, Gonçalves, and De Souza were men who lived in India for several years and had occupied many positions of responsibility, and had acquired intimate and objective knowledge of the people, and conditions of the country, and also availed themselves of original letters and papers in the Jesuit Secretariat of Goa. Valignano's work is the most authoritative of all, both on account of the high standard of accuracy he set for himself (he is said to have corrected his history several times before giving it to the publishers)<sup>10</sup> and of his judicious use of sources. Next in authority comes De Souza's history. The only regret is that in their desire to avoid any exaggeration or irrelevant matter, both De Souza and even more, Valignano, do not give many details, which would have been quite useful to research students. Yet brief descriptions of certain aspects of general Indian history, social and religious life of the Indian people are not altogether lacking in their narratives. The writings of Peruschi, Guerreiro and Du Jarric (who reproduces much of Guerreiro) are important for the Mughals and their realm, as they are for the Jesuit Mughal missions.

The chronicles of the Franciscans and other religious communities when compared to the works of the Jesuits, are of much lesser value. Even the historians of their own respective Orders advise caution in using them. Yet they are also useful for some of the information they give from the experiences of the authors and from original

sources. As most of the archives of these religious communities have been destroyed, and very few original papers remain today, these chronicles assume even greater value. Some of the travel reports and certain descriptions by eye-witnesses from among the members of the communities are valuable.<sup>11</sup>

What follows is a more detailed analysis of the works of three writers, S. Gonçalves, Paulo da Trindade and Francis de Souza.

*Sebastian Gonçalves : History of the Jesuits in India*

Sebastian Gonçalves,<sup>12</sup> born at Ponte de Lima, Portugal, about 1555-7, entered the Society of Jesus in 1574. Ordained priest in 1588, he worked for some years in Rome and elsewhere before he started for India in 1594. During his 25 years of stay in India, most of which he spent in Goa, he had discharged various responsible duties in the Society as Spiritual Father, Preacher, Professor, Minister and Superior of the Professed House, and Assistant to the Provincial. He died in Goa in 1619.

Gonçalves is the author of a number of letters and books of which only a few have come to us: (1) Two Annual Letters of the Province of Goa, 30 Nov. 1602 and 27 Dec. 1609, and another letter to the General of the Society, Fr. Aquaviva, 27 Dec. 1609.<sup>13</sup> (2) The Second Report against the Missionary Method of Fr. Robert de Nobili, which he composed together with Frs. Antonio Verejão, João Lobo, Francisco do Rego, and Antonio Alvertino (Goa 1614). (3) Critical Notes on the works of the historians of the Society of Jesus : Ribadeneira, Tursellinus, Lucena, Guzman and Guerreiro. (4) The First part of the *Historia*—about which we are concerned. (5) His own corrections to the above *Historia* (Goa 1616).<sup>14</sup>

The *magnum opus* of Gonçalves is his *Historia*.<sup>15</sup> He was engaged in writing this from 1604 onwards. It was in 1604 that Fr. Manuel de Veiga, the Provincial of India, entrusted him with the task of writing the history of the Province.<sup>16</sup> Immediately he started in all earnestness to gather material for the same and to plan it out in detail. In spite of all the goodwill and earnestness, the work progressed at a slow pace on account of the author's various other engagements. But progress it did make, and by 1614 the first part was ready to be despatched to Europe, where it was to be printed. It seems that he had simultaneously worked on the other two parts as well. The last three years of his life were spent in elaborating

and perfecting them. So far only the first part is known to exist; the other two are either lost or lie hidden in some unknown place.

However, a comprehensive programme of the complete work had been prepared by the author and sent to Rome for approval and this is extant today. This plan provides us with the titles of the chapters of the second and third parts also.<sup>17</sup>

The first part exists in three manuscripts: one in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, another in the National Library of Lisbon, and a third in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon.<sup>18</sup> It is the second one which Fr. Wicki considers as the final text prepared by the author for publication, and he has edited and published it at Coimbra, 1957-62, in three volumes. Vol. I contains books 1-5, all of them dealing with the life of St. Francis Xavier; Vol. II containing books 6-8, and Vol. III, books 9-10, detail the history of other Jesuit missionaries and their undertaking in India from 1546 to 1585. The other two parts are supposed to deal with the rest of the history.

In composing the history, Gonçalves drew heavily on the biographies of Francis Xavier and the histories of the Society that had already been written from 1571 to 1610 by such Jesuit authors as Da Costa, Teixeira, Valignano, Maffei, Tursellinus, Lucena, Guzman, Guerreiro and the biography of Gaspar Barzaeus by Nicolau Trigault; besides, he consulted some of the 'Indian' letters that had already been printed. For much of the information regarding early Portuguese activities in India, he depends upon some of the secular writers like Andrade, Varros, Galvão, Garcia de Orta, and particularly Couto, who was his contemporary.

Another source for the history was the archives of Goa where various reports and letters were available to the author for close scrutiny and study. We find, in many places in the book, reports of his personal experiences and recollections. These pieces of information are very valuable considering the following facts : as Assistant to the Jesuit Provincial of India for ten long years, he had made many visits to various places, and with his sense of keen observation personally acquainted himself with different places, peoples, their customs and manners; in the discharge of his official duties he had not only come to know intimately the Jesuit institutions and activities, but also had to maintain a close relation with authorities both ecclesiastical and civil; he had been responsible for the despatch of a great mass of correspondence of the Province.

The value of the history of Gonçalves as a source book for the mission of the Jesuits in India and related affairs from the time of Francis Xavier to 1585 is generally recognized. The very fact that the manuscripts in Lisbon had been used by numerous scholars is ample testimony to its value not only for Jesuit history but also for Indo-Portuguese history in general. The majority of the comments, both past and recent, are quite appreciative of Gonçalves's work and his style. Francis de Souza (1710) has this to say : 'The father has given very vivid reminiscences of St. Francis Xavier and writes with great accuracy and in a clear fluent style.' Fr. A. Franco (1719) considered the history to be a well laid-out and beautifully written work worth reading by everyone. Fr. Schurhammer has praised it as a very valuable book, scholarly and authoritative, containing much useful information that is new, not found in earlier accounts.<sup>19</sup>

One defect, which had already been noted by De Souza, is that the author, on account of his vast learning and erudition, digresses a lot in several places and brings in a good deal of outside matter, which is often irrelevant to his principal theme. According to De Souza, this was the reason why the history remained unprinted.<sup>20</sup> Examples of this tendency of the author are many. A few have been indicated by Fr. Wicki in his introduction to the published work. While speaking of the dress habits of the Indians, who had a preference for the pure white, Gonçalves composes a short dissertation on the excellence of whiteness quoting profusely from the Sacred Scripture, Fathers of the Church, the classical writers and so on. Similarly, when some of the customs and manners of the Brahmins are described, there is a long digression dealing with Alexander the Great and his relations with the Brahmins.<sup>21</sup>

The following observations of Fr. Wicki, the editor of Gonçalves's history deserve special attention :

1. To make an overall judgement of the work one has to distinguish the period which covers the lifetime of Francis Xavier (first five books) and the later period in the history. For the Xaverian period the author depends on Lucena profusely, reproducing from the latter lengthy passages verbatim or in summaries, passages and narratives which quite often lack historicity and depth. In describing some of the miraculous and the supernatural, Gonçalves uncritically follows Lucena whose *naïveté* is quite apparent in such matters. In the chapters on Malacca, stories are taken from the undependable *Peregrinação* of Mendes Pinto.

2. This excessive dependence of Gonçalves on Lucena is difficult to understand, notwithstanding the fact that he corrects some of the errors of Lucena and of many other Jesuit writers before him, such as Ribadeneira, Tursellinus, Guzman, Guerreiro. This means that whenever he had more reliable documents at hand to check the veracity of the secondary sources, he did it scrupulously, and he shows extreme faithfulness to the sources while reproducing them. This makes his history a reliable source for many original documents that have been lost since, and even for some of the histories and chronicles the originals of which are missing. A number of reports and other documents of great value are found scattered in the history, which were at least partly drawn from Goan archives.

3. In the last four books, Gonçalves is much more independent and even the rhetorical discourses are more rare and more brief. The history of Gonçalves serves as a sort of link between the 16th and early 17th century Jesuit chronicles and that of Francis de Souza, who completed his account in the beginning of the 18th century, and who copied much from Gonçalves.

4. Gonçalves was a man of peace endowed with conciliatory disposition, which traits are quite visible in his work. He approaches his task with the experience and poise of a mature and balanced person, as for example when he deals with such vexed problems as the one of indigenous clergy.<sup>22</sup> In the History, the author's devotion to the Society, to Francis Xavier and to Ignatius of Loyola stand in clear relief; so too does his sincere and almost nostalgic attachment to his motherland, Portugal.<sup>23</sup> Yet the inquisitiveness and interest of Gonçalves far outreach the Portuguese and Jesuit concerns. With his wider knowledge and experience he deals, in his characteristic elegant style, with a variety of topics all of which are not, at least directly, related to his main theme, but which are quite useful to students of both church history and secular and religious history of India. For example, take chapters 1 to 14 of *Book 9*, where we find the description of certain civil customs and manners of the Indian people such as their dress, marriages, social feasts as well as many religious practices and ceremonies. The author does not mince words when he praises the Brahmins and their sense of loyalty and honesty. He shows his high appreciation for some of the fine customs of the Indian people. A number of pages are then devoted to a description of the gods, the temples, temple services, caste distinctions, etc. He even attempts a comparison between the

initiation and marriage rites of the Brahmins, and the Christian sacraments.

*Paulo da Trindade : History of the Franciscans in India*

Paulo da Trindade was born at Macau around 1570 and entered the Franciscan Order in Goa. In 1595 he was in the monastery of Bassein as one of the youngest clerics. Later he did his theological studies under the guidance of Friar Manuel do Monte Olivete who had come to India 'to revive the studies'. Trindade took over as professor of theology when Manuel returned to Portugal in 1609, and continued to teach it until his retirement. When the Franciscan College or Study-House of Goa, dedicated to St. Bonaventure, was opened in 1618, it was he who as the chief professor delivered the inaugural lecture in the presence of an august assembly.<sup>24</sup> In 1640 he is mentioned as one of the three professors emeriti of the college. From 1630 to 1636 he was Commissary General of both the Indian Provinces (St. Thomas and Mother of God) of the Franciscans in India. He had held various other responsible offices in Goa: for some time he was appointed as Bishop's deputy to visit the churches in the Bombay-Bassein region, and from 1637 onwards he worked as the nominee of the Holy Office in the Goan Inquisition. He was even appointed the Inquisitor of Goa, but he died in 1651 before he could take charge of the office.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime he had written a few books and booklets on Theology and Canon Law, of which one is preserved till today in the National Library of Lisbon. He started working on his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* ('The Spiritual Conquest of the East'). This work has been recently edited and published for the first time by Fr. Felix Lopes, O.F.M., with a good introduction and very useful critical notes. It is printed in three volumes corresponding to the three *livros* ('books') into which the original is divided. The first volume is on Goa and its surroundings; the second on Bombay, Bassein, Salsette and also on the Franciscan missions in the South around Quilon; the third volume deals with eastern parts of South India, Ceylon and the Far East.

That Paulo da Trindade was highly qualified to write a history of the activities of the Franciscans in the East during the 16th century and early 17th, is quite obvious. He had a Master's degree in Theology and taught that subject as Lecturer-in-chief of St.

Bonaventure's College of the Franciscans in Goa for many years. He had acquainted himself with a wide range of Indo-Portuguese literature, the classical histories or chronicles of Barros, Castanheda, Couto, the Commentaries of Albuquerque; missionary writings such as the *Peregrinação* of Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Jornada* of Gouvea, *Ethiopia Oriental* of João dos Santos; the works of Francisco da Gonzaga, Marcos de Lisboa, John de Lucena (biography of St. Francis Xavier), Maffei and so on. His rich experience relating to men and matters of India, the facility he had to use the many original documents in the archives, were great assets in composing a solid work.

Friar Paulo lived in India more than half a century and held many positions of responsibility within his own religious community and outside in the Goan Archdiocese. As Commissary General of India he presided over the chapters of 1634 and 1636, made several visits to the houses and missions of the Order. These were special occasions for him to make a closer study of the Franciscan records. He had been the Rector of a parish in Bardez, and episcopal visitor to the churches and missions in the Bombay-Bassein region. He spent almost all his life in Goa. His knowledge of these places was very intimate and deep. He had at his disposal not only the original correspondence and records in the archives as sources, but also the notes and papers of Francisco Negrão, O.F.M., his contemporary, who had collected a good deal of material on Hindu customs and manners as well as on the history of the Franciscans in India. He had, besides, the vivid oral tradition of the Indian Franciscan family, the memoirs and reports of veteran missionaries, his own recollections and personal experiences.

Trindade was well qualified to compose a good history of the Franciscans in the East. He had all the materials readily available to him, besides his own valuable personal experience. Yet the work he produced did not come up to the standard expected of him. The obvious reason for this is that he did not intend to write an authoritative history of the Franciscans. His intention was to write an apology or a defence of his Order and the Franciscan mission work in the Orient. He was challenged to write this 'apologia' by the many rumours about the Franciscans current in his time, some of which even reached Rome. The gist of the rumours was that the Franciscans did not make good missionaries, not just because of occasional indiscipline, but also on account of their monastic

life-style, which, it was said, left not much time for active mission work. These rumours found an echo in the writings of some Jesuits like Maffei.<sup>26</sup> It was to refute these charges and to place on record the glorious achievement of the heroic sons of St. Francis in the East, his *confrères*, that Trindade took up his pen, as he clearly says in the prologue of the book.<sup>27</sup> He did it in the spirit of the age, stressing such elements as would impress his contemporaries : miracles, number of converts, the reputation the Franciscans enjoyed in high places, the privileges granted to them by Rome and so on. Fr. Meersman rightly remarks : 'He was not a man to let a happening, bearing on the miraculous, unheralded if he could possibly help it'.<sup>28</sup>

The work of Trindade is meant to be treated as an apology and a propaganda for the 'spiritual conquests' of the Franciscans in the East. There are too many miracles, visions and apparitions in it ; too many heroic and extraordinary feats, all of which make it tedious and exhausting reading. Yet the book is not simply a random and scattered narration of these elements; nor is it sheer rhetoric or a collection of mere eloquent sermons. The author has a historical framework into which he fits the miraculous, the heroic and the like. This historical framework, the chronicle of the Franciscan missions in the East and lives of the missionaries, is what is important for the historians. Some portions of it are based on unreliable secondary sources, or even conjectures.<sup>29</sup> But there are portions which are drawn from dependable secondary sources and original records, personal recollections and experiences of the author.

The influence which the *Conquista* of Paulo da Trindade wielded over contemporaries as well as the succeeding generation is indisputable. His being the earliest of the histories of the Franciscans in India, it served many of the 17th and 18th century chronicle-writers as their major source. Jacinto de Deus, Antonio da Piedade, Manoel de Montforte, Fernão da Soledade, Clemente de S. Iria—all these followed him. Even the title, *Conquista*, seems to have inspired some authors — Franciscans as well as others — in naming their works. The Franciscans, who wrote annual reports to the Portuguese king or their religious superiors, used to stuff their matter with a few historical notes for which, it is most likely, they depended on Trindade. Ignacio do Rosario, Provincial of St. Thomas Province, 1686-89, writing to the king of Portugal with

the obvious intention of convincing the latter of the good work the Franciscans had been doing in India, said that if His Majesty desired to have more information he could consult Trindade's book.<sup>30</sup> When in 1922 the only manuscript copy so far known of the work was discovered by Lammens in the Vatican Library, Rome, great enthusiasm was evinced about it by many scholars. It was hoped that it would serve as the Franciscan counterpart to the *Oriente Conquistado* of the Jesuit, De Souza, supplementing the latter a great deal. Some libraries even got microfilms of the whole or part of it. The *Ceylon Literary Register* published in English selected portions on Sri Lanka. Influential authors like Wicki, and many of the recent Franciscan historians, invariably use Trindade as a source, though with due caution.

All things considered, the work of Friar Paulo is an important source for Indo-Portuguese history, and an indispensable one for Church history, though an amount of caution is needed in making use of it, on account of the spirit in which it is written. It is most valuable : when the author speaks of individual missionaries and saintly friars (even if their achievements might have been idealized), when he gives contemporary statistics, when he summarizes or reproduces letters and other documents which, as he himself remarks, were preserved in the archives and which he was able to examine. Ultimately, the most important portions which will always retain their value are those chapters in which he narrates the events which occurred in his own day or in which he draws upon or copies documents preserved in the Franciscans archives of Goa, which later perished.<sup>31</sup> For the rest, the statements need to be checked against more reliable sources.

Paulo da Trindade, like other Franciscan friars, does not show great appreciation for the doctrines of Hinduism. Yet he has devoted several chapters to the subject.<sup>32</sup> He is perhaps the first writer to give a detailed description of the Elephanta Caves and to write in praise of the carvings in them.<sup>33</sup> Though his knowledge of Hindu tenets was superficial — and hence his exposition lacks depth — yet unlike many of his *confrères* and other missionaries he could make a distinction between practices which were strictly religious and others which were more civil and social in character. Hence he could express his open sympathy for limited adaptations and adjustments. He wrote in defence of the opinion that the Raja of Tanur could, even after baptism, continue some practices and

make use of certain symbols such as the wearing of the Brahmin thread, etc. Similarly, he speaks approvingly of the missionary method of Roberto de Nobili. To those who objected to such adaptations his answer was :

'And for the above-mentioned author to assert with such finality that the Brahmin thread is a genuine symbol of superstition and for the Rajah of Tanur to wear it, is the same as wearing a superstitious (symbol) around his neck (is something) they will not admit in Madura, rather they will laugh at this criticism. For not only do the Brahmin converts, but even the Religious who have converted them and care for that Christian community, wear the thread and are treated like Brahmins and perform the same ablutions and (practice) other things which they hold not to pertain to their Religion, but to the civil (usages) of that caste.' <sup>34</sup>

*Francis de Souza : another History of the Jesuits*

Born at Itaparica near Bahia, Brazil, in 1648 or 1649, De Souza joined the Society of Jesus in 1665 at Lisbon. In the same year he left for India and arrived in Goa in 1666. Having completed his studies there, he taught for many years — humanities, philosophy and theology; worked as parish priest in a number of churches in Salcete; served as 'Father of Christians', Prefect of Studies and Superior at Paul's College, Goa, and also as Superior of the Professed House of Goa. It was at the last named place that he died in 1712.

Already in 1694 De Souza is named in the Jesuit directory as historiographer of the Goan Province. He finished the first part of his history in 1697 and the second part in 1701. These were printed in Lisbon in 1710 under the title : *Oriente Conquistado*. . . ('The East won for Jesus Christ' by the Jesuits). A second edition appeared in Bombay in 1881-86. Of the two parts, the first covers the years 1542-63, and the second, 1564-85. Each part is divided into five 'conquistas' : (1) from the Indus to Quilon; (2) from Quilon to the Ganges; (3) from the Ganges to China; (4) China and Japan; (5) from the Indus to the Cape of Good Hope. Each 'conquista' has two chronological divisions (*divisões*) : Part I, 1542-52, 1553-63; Part II, 1564-74, 1575-85, and each of these 'divisions' is subdivided into paragraphs.

De Souza had added a third part to this history, which was never

printed. A copy of this, preserved at St. Antony's College in Lisbon up to the suppression of the Society, is missing today. Fr. John Correia-Afonso thinks that a manuscript kept in the National Library of Lisbon entitled 'Noticias que o Padre Provincial da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa manda a Real Academia de Portugal, começadas do anno de 1585, em que o Padre Francisco de Souza da mesma companhia acabou a 2a parte da sua historia intitulada "Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pellos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa"' may help to make up in some measure for the loss of De Souza's manuscript.<sup>85</sup>

The book is definitely the fruit of much study and research and hence of great historical value. For its composition, the author brought under contribution not only the printed Jesuit histories particularly of Bartoli and Lucena, but also many of the manuscripts kept in the Professed House of Goa, the chief being the history of S. Gonçalves. The worth of De Souza's work increases even more when one considers the fact that not only much of the original correspondence on which he drew but also the last two parts of Goncalves's history are not extant today.

For the rest I quote what Fr. Correia-Afonso says in his *Jesuit Letters* . . . :

'Fr. De Souza's critical sense and discrimination has won for him recognition as a trustworthy historian. He does not suffer from a "devout partiality"! For example, when relating the unexpected deliverance of Goa from imminent attacks by the Marathas and the Mughals, after the intercession of St. Francis had been invoked, De Souza is content to write : "It does not belong to me to examine whether these results were brought about in a miraculous manner, or purely natural one ; I only say that the common voice of India at the time attributed the preservation of the State to a miracle, and still does so today".

'The author of the *Oriente Conquistado* is careful to adduce the names of the witnesses and the evidence on which his statements are made. Like Valignano, he too deprecates exaggerations of some authors in favour of the Society. An instance in point will be found in the account of the progress of Christianity in Salsette, Goa. After describing some attacks on Jesuit priests near Rachol, which were not fatal, de Souza writes :

' "Fr. Mathias Tanner says that in the year 1554, when D. Antonio de Noronha was Viceroy, two priests of the Society were killed by

stoning in Salsette; and I do not know who prevented him from getting correct news, for the year was not 1554, when there were still no missionaries of the Society in Salsette and D. Affonso de Noronha was the Governor, but 1564, when D. Antão de Noronha was Viceroy. The religious of the Society, of whom only one was a priest, did not die by martyrdom, nor did the tradition of this Province ever recognize such martyrs. Fr. John Nadasi fell into the same error. . .”

“The *Oriente Conquistado* contains very detailed information about the various regions of Goa and the progress of Christianity there. It also gives news about the rulers of Bijapur, Cochin, Vijayanagara, Travancore, Madura, Mughal India, etc. Several pages are devoted to the first Jesuit missions to the Mughal Court; these were translated into English by Fr. H. Hosten in the *Examiner* of 1920. So authoritative and illuminating are De Souza’s two volumes, that they make the reader regret all the more that the manuscript of the third should have been lost’.<sup>36</sup>

In conclusion I may state that the histories and chronicles reviewed here are, in certain cases, practically the only sources available as a good number of the original letters and reports have been lost in the course of time. This makes it even more necessary for us to study and evaluate these histories along with whatever sources we have at our disposal. Even the best ones need to be checked and verified against contemporary documents, which are being published at an increased tempo for many years now. This is particularly important when the authors fumble in areas which were not quite familiar to them either through personal experience or through dependable documents. As far as the 16th century is concerned, for the most part, quite a number of chronicles and histories are available and numerous documents have been published. Thus there is ample facility for cross-checking the histories and verifying the accuracy and worth of the accounts. But this is not the case with regard to the 17th century : much remains to be done in the way of groundwork and documentation here. This is a challenge for all of us.

## NOTES

1. Published at Bangalore, 1967.
2. Fr. Schurhammer gives a résumé of this vast material:  
 'Besides the general and particular Histories and the official documents contained in the 100 volumes of the Royal Chancellery and elsewhere, there are before all the original letters from India. About 90,000 of them are contained in the two collections *Corpo Chronologico* and *Gavetas* of the National Archives, almost all of the 16th century, not to speak of those preserved in other collections of the same archives, the Ajuda, the National Library, the rich *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* in Lisbon (Catalogue by Fitzler-Ennes, 1928), and the General Archives of Goa. The letters sent to India by the King, together with some answers received, are contained in the collection *Documentos Remettidos da Índia*, 302 volumes (of which 62 are in Lisbon, the others in Goa); only a part of these have been published by the Academia das Ciências of Lisbon, 1880-1935, and by Cunha Rivara in the ten volumes of his *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Nova-Goa, 1857-76. The collection is composed of 12,318 documents, and they describe year by year the chief events in India from 1584 to 1811.  
 'These original letters (and among them some from the kings of Malindi, Kishn, Ormuz, Basra, Djazira, Gujarat, Bijapur, Cannanore, Tanor, Cranganore, Eddapalli, Cochín, Vadakkumkur, Kotte, Sitavaka, Kandy, the Maldives, Ternate, Gilolo, Pedir and Islam Shah) make it possible to check the Portuguese, and much more the Indian, chronicles...' From his Preface to the book of John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773* (Bombay, 1969, 2nd. ed., p. xv).
3. Cf. Felix Lopes, O.F.M., 'Missões franciscanas na Índia Oriental em 1595 ...', *Arquivo Ibero-Americano*, 13 (1953) 165 ff. A few of the observations he makes in this article and in his introduction to Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual* which he edited and published, are interesting: News of the wonderful achievements of the Portuguese missions in the East soon spread all over Europe. The chief vehicle which carried the news was the 'Annual Letters' of the Jesuits from India, which were circulated in all the houses of the Society and were printed for wider publication and propaganda. These edifying letters evoked such enthusiasm that in a short time the Society of Jesus was able to mobilize the whole of Europe for the missionary enterprises of the Portuguese nation. Every year ships left Lisbon loaded with a bevy of Jesuit missionaries belonging to different Christian nations and various languages for the vast territories of the East, wherever the Padroado had reached. These men who had united discipline with zeal did wonders in the mission field. It is these heroes and their deeds which obtained almost epic proportions in the letters. Hence the information these letters gave could not be but partial and incomplete and needed to be supplemented by the more confidential letters and reports sent by the missionaries to the Major Superiors. Cf. Lopes, 'Missões...' p. 165 ff; Introduction, p. ix f.
4. His *Dei zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)*, new enlarged edition

- (Rome, 1962) has given brief descriptions of some 6236 documents. He has edited a number of documents, the chief being *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, (Rome, 1944-5).
5. Schurhammer both in his *Quellen* and in his introduction to *Epistolae S. Francisci* gives a short evaluation of some of these histories. His interest is the life and writings of Francis Xavier. Fr. John Correia-Afonso devotes one full chapter of his *Jesuit Letters*. . . (p. 109ff.) to these histories.
  6. The Franciscan chronicles have not been studied or evaluated as the histories of the Jesuits are. Only Trindade's work has been studied to some extent, by such historians as Fr. A. Meersman and Fr. Felix Lopes.
  7. These works are even less known and studied than the Franciscan ones, but at least two or three of them are indispensable for the missions of the Orders concerned.
  8. All of them provide good descriptions of the geographical, political, socio-cultural life of Kerala, of the ancient Christians of India in particular.
  9. Cf. Correia-Afonso, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
  10. Valignano wrote to the General of the Society in 1585 : ' . . . Therefore I begged Your Paternity last year, not to print that first part of the Indian History before I had gone through it once more and had submitted it to the perusal of the oldest fathers of the Province, for although I am certain that I have not written anything untrue and have employed great care to verify all my statements — since the History will be printed as composed by a member of the Society — I am not yet satisfied with it, until the work has been examined again, so that it may be thoroughly perused and pronounced reliable. . . ' Quoted by Correia-Afonso, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 9.
  11. Two such reports by two Augustinians are published in Silva Rego's *Documentação*, vol. XII, p. 200-17 ; 217-23. The second gives a list of articles with their prices which the writer distributed among missionaries, as also the account of monies he gave to different missions.
  12. He is known as S. Gonçalves the Senior, as there was a younger Jesuit having the same name.
  13. About his letter see Correia-Afonso, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-4.
  14. Works of Gonçalves known by name but not so far discovered are : (1) A report on the martyrdom of Bl. Rudolfo Aquaviva and his companions (Goa, 1609) ; (2) 'The life and glorious death of our beloved Brother Vincente Alvares' (Goa in or before 1609) ; (3) The second and third parts of the *Historia* ; (4) A volume on some illustrious members of the Society of Jesus in India.
- Works attributed to him are : (1) A treatise on the Provinces, Convents and Monasteries of the Order of St. Francis in the kingdom of Portugal and its colonies ; (2) A treatise on the question whether it was licit for priests on board to say Mass in the Indian 'Carreira' and give communion to the passengers. Although there are no adequate proofs to say that these are his works, one cannot rule out the possibility of his authorship, especially of the second. Cf. Wicki's Introduction, p. vii f.
15. Part I edited by Fr. J. Wicki, 3 vols. (Coimbra, 1957-62).
  16. The history of Gonçalves was to be printed in Lisbon and was to serve as reliable contribution to the grand history of the Society of Jesus for the

- writing of which Saccini and others had already started working. The Jesuit accounts of India so far written were incomplete : Teixeira's work (completed in 1579-81) was only a biography of St. Francis Xavier ; Valignano had traced the history up to 1564. The initiative to write a comprehensive account of the missions in the East was left to the Province of Goa. Hence the commission given to Gonçalves. Cf. Wicki, *ibid.*
17. *Ibid.* p.xix-xx. The complete plan is given in the appendix of the published work.
  18. Fr. Schurhammer calls the manuscripts Gonçalves I, II and III, while Fr. Wicki names them Ms. R(ome), L(isbon), A(juda) respectively. Cf. Schurhammer, *Epistolae Francisci*, Introduction, p. 88 ; and Wicki, *ibid.*, pp. x-xvii.
  19. Cf. Schurhammer, *ibid.*, p. 84 (Goa in or before 1609); Wicki, *ibid.*, p. xxvi f.
  20. Ch. Wicki, *ibid.*
  21. Book 9, chaps. 3 and 4 ; published work vol. III, pp. 20-35.
  22. Wicki, *ibid.*, pp. xxvii-xxix.
  23. Book 7, chaps. 1-3; published work vol. II, pp. 149-73.
  24. Cf. Trindade, I 264-5; Lopes's introduction to Trindade's work, p. vii.
  25. Lopes, *ibid.*, p. viii.
  26. Book 12 of his *Historiarum Indicarum*, cf. Lopes, *ibid.*, p. ix.
  27. In the prologue Trindade says: 'I am writing this with the same sentiments—to give honour to this Province of St. Thomas, whose son I am, though unworthy and the least of the Minors... There is a book composed by a certain author in Italian and printed in Rome. In it he has shown the temerity no less than audacity to say that the Franciscan Friars in India were not engaged in establishing Christian communities but in conducting funerals and saying Requiem Masses. Whatever be his ... intention, what he says is not only a calumny and insult to a Province as holy and well-deserving as this, but is far removed from the truth'. Trindade goes on to narrate the great achievements of the Franciscans in India. Then says : 'This was the reason which moved me to undertake to write this history. The scope of the work, therefore, will be to demonstrate to the world the falsehood of the statement of the above mentioned author.'
  28. Cf. Achilles Meersman's review of the published work of Trindade, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 56 (1963) p. 480.
  29. Lopes through his critical notes corrects a number of such inaccuracies.
  30. Meersman, Review, *ibid.*, 58 (1965) p. 564.
  31. *ibid.*, 56 (1963) p. 480 ; 62 (1969) p. 413.
  32. E.g., I, pp. 335-48.
  33. II, 180. Cfr. A. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 1500-1835* (Bangalore, 1971) p. 236.
  34. Trindade, II, p. 216 f; pp. 315-18. Cf. A. Meersman, *ibid.*, p. 89 f; pp 270-2.
  35. Correia-Afonso, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
  36. *Ibid.*, p. 124 f.

## Source Material from the Goa Archives

V. T. Gune

THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF GOA came into existence by an historical coincidence. The information had reached the ears of the King D. Filipe in Lisbon that Diogo de Couto was writing a history of Goa and that he required to see some papers and the correspondence between Goa and Lisbon. The King readily gave consent to the project and by a Royal Provision of 25th February 1595, ordered the Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque in Goa to install the Archives office in Old Goa in the Viceregal Palace itself, and appointed Diogo de Couto as its Chief Record Keeper. Diogo de Couto was in charge of it till 1616 and organized the Archives office which was then called Torre de Tombo do Estado da India, after the name of the principal Archives Office at Lisbon in Portugal, namely Torre de Tombo de Lisboa. He was succeeded by prominent historians like Antonio Bocarro, a talented chronicler. He headed the Torre de Tombo do Estado da India till 1643. Without going into details about his successors, I would like to stress that in the beginning of the 18th century there were reports about the papers being carried away by the Viceroys from the archival repository in Goa. As a result, there were gaps in several series of records. Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes complained to the King in January 1714 that some of the important papers were missing because some of the Viceroys before him might have removed them for their own reference or for the sake of curiosity. Besides, the shifting of the Secretariats from Old Goa to Panelim and from there to Panjim led to a great damage to record books, specially *Livros de Registo*. As the years passed, the Archives work suffered on account of humidity and carelessness. In 1855, however, the records found a great protector in Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, who came to Goa as the Secretary of the Government.

It was he, a great researcher himself, who took remedial steps not only to conserve the documents but also to publish them extensively.

In the current century, the Archives of Goa underwent a metamorphosis. In 1930, the then Governor-General of Goa, General João Craveiro Lopes, gave it the form of *Arquivo Geral e Histórico da Índia Portuguesa* (General and Historical Archives of Portuguese India). By the end of 1937, it was renamed as *Cartório do Governo Geral do Estado da Índia* (Archives of the Government of the State of India). It bore this name till 1952 when it was given the new title of *Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia* (Historical Archives of the State of India). At this time, the collection in the repository had gone up to 9,840 volumes. A year later, the Government through an Order dated 16th April 1953 regulated and widened the scope of its functions. Under this Order, the Archives of Goa were asked to conserve not only the nucleus of the documents in their possession but also other papers of the Government and all its agencies, as well as from the notary offices and the judicial courts. It was also decided to have the library of historical publications exclusively for the Archives. After the liberation of Goa, these are known as the Historical Archives of Goa (Goa Purabhilekha). On the liberation day, the collection of records totalled 20,000 volumes. Since then the bulk of records of the past regime extending over 40,000 volumes has been centralized in the Archives Department. Over 40,000 volumes of the past regime are yet to be appraised, acquired and centralized. During last seventeen years, Goa Archives has been developed on a larger scale into a modern Archives office. The Goa Archives now has its own multi-storeyed building. It is well-equipped with the preservation unit. The programme for preservation of records includes repairs, rehabilitation, photoduplication, restoration work, preservation of documents, testing of material through laboratory process, fumigation and disinfection of records and microfilming. As for a Reference Library, it has a collection of nearly 10,000 reference books out of which about 6,000 are rare.

Cunha Rivara, Filipe Nery Xavier, Teixeira de Aragão and several others brought to light many documents from several series during the last century. In the recent past, Ismael Gracias, J. M. do Carmo Nazareth, A. de Bragança Pereira, Dr. S. N. Sen, Father H. Heras, Rev. Dr. Silva Rego, Prof. C. R. Boxer, Dr. P. S. S. Pissurlencar, have published a good many of documents from the archival repository of Goa.

Under a publication programme, the Supplementary Series of the *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* (Proceedings of the State Council at Goa), Vol. 1, Parts I and II with a detailed Subjects Index and Table of Contents in brief of all the five volumes of the period 1618 - 1750 have been published by Dr. V. T. Gune, Director of Goa Archives. He has also brought out *A Guide to the collections of records from the Goa Archives, Panaji*. Publication of the Portuguese records of the *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda in extenso* along with notes and publication of Marathi (*Modi*) documents dealing with relations of the Portuguese with Sawantwadi and Sunda rulers are envisaged. The first three volumes of the *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda* have been transcribed by the Archives Office with a view to publishing them. The first volume is annotated and is ready for printing. Similarly, *Modi* (Marathi) documents on the Bassein Campaign are under print.

So far, I gave you a brief idea of the creation, development and the present growth of Goa Archives. Now I intend describe the nature of its contents.

The principal institutions which afforded the support to the Portuguese administration and power in Asia were the Factory (*Feitoria*), the Fort (*Fortaleza*), the Friar (*Freire*) and the Fleet (*Armada*).

These institutions were organized and developed on the same lines as in the metropolis of Portugal. They were the witnesses to the Monarchy (1505 - 1820), the Constitutional regime (1820 - 1910) and the Republican regime (1910 - 61). The divisions and sub-agencies of these institutions changed according to times, thus creating the records of various interests for us.

The collection of Portuguese records in the Historical Archives of Goa is arranged in different series under different heads. They are in the form of manuscripts and folios produced by various creating agencies of the Governments and administrations.

### *Political and Administrative Correspondence*

#### 1. *Monções do Reino* (Monsoon correspondence from the Kingdom)

The most important and largest of all the collections in the Goa Archives is of *Monções do Reino* (correspondence sent during the monsoon from Portugal). This collection runs over 456 manuscript volumes and covers the period from 1560 to 1914. It deals with

instructions, letters, reports received at Goa every year from Portugal and Spain in the monsoon season, *i.e.* from June to September, with enclosures containing copies of replies despatched from Goa during the period December to March. So the correspondence in this series depended largely on the monsoons and the books of such correspondence received from Portugal and Spain were filed together under the name 'Monções do Reino' of that particular year. These volumes do not have original correspondence sent from Goa to Lisbon but in many cases extracts of such documents are inserted in them. The correspondence being direct from Portugal to Goa, it throws much light on the expansionist activities of the Portuguese and other European nations in the Indian Ocean. They also reveal Portugal's trade rivalries with Arab and European powers and relations with neighbouring small powers in South Asia, the Far East and East Africa. A lot of documents in the volumes of the series discuss the political and economic situations prevailing in India at different periods.

In 1777, sixty-two volumes consisting of 12,318 documents covering the period 1605 to 1651 were shifted to Lisbon and subsequently were published by the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, during 1880 to 1893, under the title *Documentos Remettidos da Índia*, in five volumes. However, these printed books cover only the period 1605 to 1616. Perhaps no one thus far has gone through this entire collection. The late Cunha Rivara in his Fascículo 3 of *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* had published some documents from this series mainly of the 16th century throwing light on Deccan Sultanate, Raja of Ramnagar, etc. Later on, the late A. de Bragança Pereira also published several documents from this collection of the 18th century laying stress on Maratha-Portuguese relations. Prof. C. R. Boxer in his article 'A Glimpse of the Goa Archives' has described the contents of the first 64 volumes covering the period 1574 to 1700. The late Dr. P. S. S. Pissurlencar has used and extracted several documents from among the first 180 volumes ending with the year 1800 for his studies on relations of the Portuguese with Marathas, Hyder, Tipu, etc. Lately, efforts are being made by various other scholars to bring to light many documents from this series.

2. *Livros das Pazes e Tratados da Índia* (Books of Peace Treaties in India)

This precious collection of five books carries the treaties signed by the Portuguese with neighbouring kings in India, East Africa,

Asia and with other European powers during 1571 - 1856. The first four were published by Cunha Rivara in the series of *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* of 1873-75. The 5th book is in printed form and deals with treaties from 1809 to 1842. Julio Fermino Judice Biker later on copied and reproduced these treaties in his publication *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes que o Estado da India Portuguesa fez com os Reis e Senhores com que teve relação nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental* in 14 volumes published at Lisbon during 1881-7.

3. *Reis Visinhos* (Neighbouring Kings)

This series of 22 volumes covers the period from 1619 to 1842 and includes the correspondence from Goa with the neighbouring rulers and princes of India. These documents are of vital importance to the study of Indian history especially the Maratha period. Most of these documents have been used by scholars including the late S. N. Sen, A. de Bragança Pereira, P. S. S. Pissurlencar and some others in recent times. Recently 6 of these books have been indexed in the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* published by the *Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos*. This series has been tapped fairly extensively thus far.

4. *Correspondencia para o Reino* (Correspondence with the Metropolitan Government)

This series includes 124 volumes and its correspondence pertains to the letters sent to the Crown for specific instructions on various issues concerning the Powers, neighbouring kingdoms, situation in India and security of the State. This series is very important for the study of political issues of the 18th and 19th centuries.

5. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* (Proceedings and Assents of the Council of State at Goa)

There are in all 9 volumes and cover the period 1618 to 1750. They deal with the records of the minutes of the Council of State at Goa and include the policy decisions and matters of the then Government of Goa and thus constitute important source material for the political history of the Portuguese Empire in India. The Council was always presided by the Viceroy or the Governor, and the Councillors, mostly Fidalgos with distinguished careers, were appointed by the Viceroy or Governor in consultation with the Crown. Councillors were life members whereas the Viceroy's tenure was normally fixed at 3 years. The advice of the Councillors, who aired their views frankly, was not binding on the Viceroy. Since

Councillors represented themselves permanently, the policy decisions reflected the continuity.

These 9 volumes including proposals and proceedings of the Council about Royal administration have been published in 5 volumes by Dr. Pissurlencar under the title *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*. Recently, Dr. V. T. Gune, Director of [Goa Archives, has brought out the Supplementary Series of the *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, as already mentioned.

6. *Cartas e Ordens* (Letters and Orders)

They number in all 133 volumes which include the letters and orders issued from the Secretariat and the Revenue Office. This correspondence throws a good deal of light on military matters and revenue issues during the period 1609 to 1865.

7. *Cartas Patentes e Alvarás* (Letters-Patent and Charters)

These volumes of letters-patent and charters numbering 272 are of the period 1557 to 1888 and are related to various issues concerning the Portuguese State of India. It is very useful for the study of Portuguese economic, political, military and administrative history of the 16th to 19th centuries.

8. *Cartas Patentes, Provisões e Alvarás* (Letters-Patent, Provisions and Charters)

The Books of Letters-Patent, Provisions and Charters are bound in 42 volumes which cover the period 1593 to 1810. It is mostly the correspondence with various military officials giving them instructions on various matters in the interest of the Portuguese State of India.

9. *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda* (Proceedings and Assents of the Council of Revenue and Taxes)

This series consists of 59 volumes spanning the period 1613 to 1781. They are about proceedings of the Revenue Council and its assents on various proposals which were placed before it. This group is very important for the economic history and trade relations of the Portuguese with other nations as well as kingdoms in India. The first three volumes of this series have been transcribed by the Archives office. This collection, if tapped properly, will bring to light many interesting topics of economic history. Besides these, there are 3 volumes covering the period 1665 to 1829, pertaining to the Provisions on the Royal Exchequer. In addition to this there are 13 volumes of the period 1665 to 1863 concerning miscellaneous accounts and the papers of the office of the Accountant

General. Moreover, there is another collection of 139 volumes pertaining to the revenue and treasury office. They are the papers of the accounts, correspondence, various receipts, provisions, converted lands, acts, assents of the Revenue Board, information about the Revenue Board, etc., during the period 1729 to 1881, throwing much light on the revenue matters during the Portuguese regime.

10. *Ordens Regias* (Royal Orders)

These 86 books form one of the most important collections in the Archives. They contain the Royal orders sent from Portugal and Brazil from 1630 to 1868 with the signatures of the Monarchs. This collection also points out how the Kings used to take keen interest in the affairs and the administration in the colonies. If a proper study of these orders is made, it will throw much light on the colonial history of the Portuguese.

11. *Regimentos e Instruções* (Regulations and Instructions)

This forms another important series consisting of 25 volumes covering the period of nearly 300 years from 1564 to 1869 and consists of the bye-laws and instructions received from time to time from the Kings, Viceroy to the top military officials about the strategies to be adopted while dealing with the navies and armies of other Powers in the Indian Ocean and the military bases.

12. *Portarias* (Grants, Government orders)

These 55 volumes are on Government grants and orders during the period 1735 to 1899 with a gap of 12 years. Their focus is on the administration of the Portuguese.

13. *Homenagens*

These eight volumes covering the period 1638-1805 contain very valuable documents in the form of types of oaths taken by the Governors, Army officials and top Government officials while taking charge of an office. They are very useful for preparing the biographical sketches of such officials.

14. *Cartazes* (Cards for Safe Conduct)

Cartazes were the certificates passed by the Portuguese authorities to the ships of alien nations for safe conduct during the period 1704 to 1870. Some of the certificates of the 15th and 17th centuries are mixed up also in the series of *Monções do Reino*. They total 9 volumes and show how the Portuguese had hegemony over other nations in the early 18th and 19th centuries.

15. *Chancelaria* (Chancery)

These 26 volumes belonging to the Chancery are about the

records of the condemnatory sentences passed by the Chancery from the period 1556 to 1840, tithes, accounts and bye-laws. These are very important documents for the study of early judicial history in this part of the country.

16. *Escravos* (Slaves)

There are 10 volumes on slavery alone covering the period 1682 to 1765. Most of them consist of the registers of slaves in the Tiswadi, Bardez, Salcete, Daman and Diu and the New Conquests. Besides this, there are several documents on the subject which are mixed up in other series such as *Monções do Reino*, *Cartas Patentes e Alvarás*, etc.

17. *Milicia* (Military)

This collection is the largest and biggest in this office in terms of volumes which number 1,062. The correspondence is centred mainly on the acts of Supreme War Council, Council on Uniforms, transfer of personnel, movement of troops, decisions of the Military Justice Council, registration of the prisoners and the condemned, daily orders, regimental orders, general orders, recruitment of civilian troops, a register of military personnel, correspondence regarding military conduct and affairs. These documents cover the period 1763 to 1894, thus forming an excellent reference material for the study of Portuguese military history in the colonies. Out of these, there are 556 volumes on the military correspondence alone.

18. *Arsenal de Goa* (Arsenal of Goa)

These 19 record books are about the instructions to the Intendant of Navy, enrolment of workmen in the Arsenal, practical naval architecture, correspondence of the Royal Arsenal, General Register of Navy and Arsenal, acts of the Commissioner of the Arsenal, orders and directives from the Prefect to the Office of Marine and Arsenal, nautical diary of a corvette, and the general correspondence.

*Local or District Administrative Records*

19. *Feitorias* (Factories)

There are 64 volumes on the *Feitorias* of Bassein, Chaul, Diu, Goa, Mangalore, Siam, Sofala and Surat. The documents are the letters, charters, accounts, inventories, responsibilities, correspondence, provisions, etc. pertaining to the trading posts or factories of the Portuguese at Bassein, Chaul, Diu, Goa, Mangalore,

Siam, Sofala and Surat. Thus, it is an essential source material for the economic, political and expansionist history of the 17th and 19th century. Besides this, there are five more volumes of the period 1710 to 1880 which give a picture of the accounts maintained by the administrators of such factories or trade posts. These documents also prove how the Portuguese administrators were meticulous in maintaining their accounts.

20. *Fortalezas* (Fortresses)

This series of *Regimentos das Fortalezas* of four volumes covering the periods 1545 to 1635 deals with the forts and fortresses in India. One of these volumes *Fortalezas da India* is a modern copy made by Bocarro from the manuscripts preserved in the Biblioteca de Evora. This series is important not only from the historical point of view but also in view of the study of architecture in the past four centuries.

21. *Alfandegas* (Customs)

This collection of records of customs is very huge and rich in its contents. It is a very important source material for the trade and maritime history. It contains documents on entry and departures of ships, customs, levies, receipts, correspondence, terms of various customs houses at various places, imports, exports, regulations, despatches, orders, accounts, maps, letters, registers, etc. They are 2,450 and are of a period of over 300 years *i.e.* 1593 to 1902.

22. *Forais das Ilhas de Goa, Bardez e Salcete* (Register of taxes paid to the King by the people from Goa, Bardez and Salcete)

These books are of the registers of taxes paid to the King. They are 21 in number and span the period from 1567 to 1800. They are very useful for the study of villages, temples and lands in Goa.

23. *Aforamentos* (Quit-rent lands)

There are 73 volumes pertaining to the quit-rent lands and they are of the period right from 1616 to 1889. These books have the documents on the terms and succession letters on the subject. This collection is significant for the study of the land tenure system in the territory of Goa.

24. *Comunidades* (Village Communes)

These records of village communes total about 1,267 and cover the period from 1580 to 1887. Out of these, 892 volumes belong to the Districts in 'New Conquests', 19 to the Districts in 'Old Conquests', 255 to the Island of Goa, 100 to the villages in Salcete and one to the community of Cotigão. This collection needs to be thoroughly studied for the history of the unique age-old institution of

communes prevailing in this territory till this date. Some of the earlier records are in Halkannad script, some others are in Marathi (*Modi*) script and the rest of them are in Portuguese. Besides these, there are 11 more volumes under the title 'Bens Nacionais', i.e. national properties. They are from the year 1844 to 1879. These documents are mostly letters about their sale and general accounts.

25. *Confisco* (Confiscations)

This series of collection pertains to the confiscated lands during the period 1705 to 1892. Most of the records in them are on the sale of such lands at the auction, assents given for such a sale, certificates, offers, consignment, accounts, debts, letters, petitions, regulations, royal appointments, terms, register and obligation. They are 245 in number and are complementary to other records on lands. Similarly, there are 30 more volumes covering the period 1517 to 1888 out of which 19 are about the registers of taxes paid to the King by the citizens from the Island of Goa, Bardez and Salcete. The remaining are about quit-rents. These record books taken with other books on the land system in Goa are very rich for the history of lands and land-ownership system prevailing in Goa during the last four and half centuries.

26. *Livros das Mercês Gerais*

These volumes number 59 and cover the period 1607 to 1883. They are mostly the lists of documents pertaining to grants of lands, honours, titles and awards to those who helped the king in one way or the other. They are extremely useful to know about the role played by the persons in the past in the service of the Portuguese power.

27. *Senado de Goa* (Senate of Goa)

These books totally numbering 178 relate to the Senate of Goa, which had its seat in Old Goa, soon after the Portuguese established themselves there. The documents in them are of the period 1535 to 1879. They are the records on assents and collective judgements passed by the Senate, register of disapproval of the Board of Control on Prices, charters, provisions, Municipality of Goa, assents and oaths, edicts, letters, letters-patent, royal charters, conditions of conciliations, guarantees, terms of work, general registers, gold- and silversmiths' marks, chancery, papers concerning the chapel of St. Catherine, orders of the Governor, action regarding the collection of documents, papers of various offices, sale of sealed documents, municipal properties and miscellaneous

correspondence. This correspondence is very rich as far as legislative and municipal history of Goa is concerned. Besides this, there are 161 volumes about the general register maintained by the Senate of Goa and they relate to the period from 1570 to 1875.

28. *Acordãos e Assentos da Camara de Goa* (Resolutions and Records of the meetings of the Municipal Council of Goa)

This collection consists of 14 manuscript volumes covering the period 1535 to 1836. The manuscripts are mainly of the assents and proceedings of the Municipality of Goa. The scholars interested in pursuing the study of the civic administration of Goa can concentrate on these books right from 16th century. In addition to this, there are four volumes on the proceedings and oaths of the Municipality of Goa.

This correspondence is of the period 1640 to 1793. Besides, there are five more volumes covering the period 1640 to 1849 dealing with the annals, terms, proceedings and oaths of the Municipality of Goa. Apart from this there are 14 more volumes pertaining to the Municipalities of Bardez, Salcete, Tiswadi (Ilhas), Cacora, Embarbarcem, Daman and Diu, which include the documents of orders of the General Secretariat to the Presidents of the Municipalities, accounts and the register of the Municipal Secretaries.

Furthermore, there are a number of volumes on minor subjects. They are on the Portuguese agency at Bombay, agriculture, chemists, druggists, merchants, mint, certificates, contracts, exiles, terms of receipt of effects, embassy in China, royal tobacco vendors, foreigners, agents of factories, securities, *gaunkars*, respects, Royal Military Hospitals, National Press, inquisition, inventories, boards, liquor and tobacco licences, wills, passports, pensions, tax on *shendi*, appointments by Crown, prefects, provisions, civil magistracies, requisitions, gifts, salt and excise, secret duties, vassalage, civil processes, criminal processes, orphanological inventories, notarial deeds, etc.

There are also several volumes of documents pertaining to various regions to which Portuguese had access and where they had their influence some time or other. There are 12 volumes of the period 1610 to 1741 relating to the collection of records of Bassein, correspondence to and from Bassein, and the documents pertaining to the convent and the Royal Hospital there. Two volumes on Canara, of the period 1698 to 1769 have very important records on the activities of the Portuguese and the neighbouring rulers in that

region. Three volumes on Chaul (Revdanda of the period 1691 to 1740) are full of correspondence and collections of documents of that city. There are 119 volumes of Macao of the period 1693 to 1861. They deal with the accounts of the Royal Revenue Office in Macao, correspondence, provisions, etc. This series is extremely important for the study of Portuguese rule and history in Macao.

There is one book on Mahim of the period 1835, and four books on Malabar of the period 1759-60 which discuss mostly about missionary activities. There is another important collection and it is about Mozambique. This is a collection of 26 volumes consisting of very important papers and correspondence on Mozambique of the period 1675 to 1884. It is a remarkable document on the history of the colonial regime of the Portuguese in Africa which is not yet fully probed.

There are 3 books on the Province of the North covering the period 1686 to 1720. Besides, there is a book on Nagar Haveli. It must be stressed here that many papers on the Province of the North are scattered about in various other series such as Monções do Reino, Ordens Regias, etc. There are 83 volumes on Daman covering the period 1592 to 1885 and dealing with correspondence, provisions, etc. of this important settlement of the Portuguese in the North. Similarly, there are 165 volumes on Diu full of correspondence, accounts, confiscations, Royal rent acts, general register, letters-patent, orders, etc. These record books on both these settlements reveal a great deal of the activities of the Portuguese there.

So far, I have dealt with the papers which supply extremely valuable information mainly on political, administrative, economic, trade and military aspects, in which many monarchies of the Deccan, Vijayanagar, Shivaji, House of Peshwas, dynasties in Karnataka, Hyder Ali, Tipu, later Maratha rulers, and Angrias figure. Now I will be dealing with a vast mass of material throwing light on ecclesiastical and missionary activities.

### *Ecclesiastical Records*

#### 29. *Catecumenos de Betim* (Catechumens — Converts under pre-Baptismal instruction of Betim)

This collection of 146 volumes belongs to the catechumens of Betim and deals with assents, registers of new converts, inventory, accounts, etc. during the period 1701 to 1861. They give very

interesting information about the conversion tactics adopted by the missionaries during the period.

### 30. *Colegios* (Colleges)

There are 110 books of the period 1553 to 1876 of the colleges of St. Augustine, Bom Jesus, S. Boaventura, S. Domingos, S. José, S. Paulo, S. Tomas Populo, Rachol and Chorão. They are about the lands, accounts, masses, pensions, receipts, assignments, provisions, property matters, deeds, inventories, assents, decisions, nominations, declaration registers etc. and miscellaneous papers. These are the important documents which show the systematic methods and policies adopted by the missionaries for the propagation of Christianity in the East. These papers if fully gone through will unravel many unknown facts of the religious history in Portuguese colonies.

### 31. *Congregações* (Congregations)

These 24 books are about the Congregations of Augustinians, Dominicans, Oratorians and of Oriental India, and cover the period 1605 to 1835. They are mostly reports of masses, letters, assents, testaments, lands, patrimony, accounts, deposits, pensions, inventories, etc.

### 32. *Conventos* (Convents)

This series is of the convents of S. Augustine, S. Barbara, S. Boaventura, N. Sra. de Bom Sucesso, Cabo, S. Caitano, Carmo, St. Cruz dos Milagres, Daman, Diu, S. Domingo, Espirito Santo, S. Francisco, S. João de Deus, Madre de Deus, Santa Monica and Pilar. They number 237 and span the period of nearly 333 years, i. e. 1560 to 1893. They contain the papers of various types. There are deeds, receipts, assents, reports of masses, donations, terms of elections, provincial chapters, chapels, friars, laws, pharmacies, formulary, inventories, lands, orders, long-term and perpetual land leases, visits, novitiates, provisions, acts, religious spoils, hospital, medicines, etc. In addition to this, there are 177 volumes on *Extinct Convents* of the period 1560 to 1885, and they cover similar topics. These huge masses of convent papers are very important for the history of various religious orders and their activities.

### 33. *Cristandade* (Christianity)

These are 3 books of laws and provisions in favour of Christianity spanning the period 1513 to 1843. They contain registers of diverse laws in favour of the propagation of the Catholic religion in various parts of India. Students of religious history will find them very important to trace the motives and ideas behind the conversion policy.

34. *Inquisição* (Inquisition)

Though the Inquisition caused great havoc and distress in Goa, there are very few records in these Archives about the history of the Inquisition. Of course, there are some papers spread over in various series too, highlighting some aspects of the Inquisition. However, there are four books which are mainly about income and expenditure of the Inquisition and about the employees engaged in promoting this heinous practice in the later period i.e. 1782-1832.

35. *Jesuitas* (Jesuits)

There are 46 record books pertaining to Jesuits alone and cover the period 1664 to 1806. Most of the papers in these books are about subsistence to Jesuit priests, assents of the Board, about the lands confiscated by the Jesuit priests, sale in auction of the lands of the Society of Jesus, certificates of the payment of the rents, lands belonging to the expelled Jesuits, accounts, administration of the territories, etc. They are very useful for the Jesuit history of the past four and half centuries. Besides, there are 11 books on the Novitiate of Choraó which are mainly of 18th and 19th centuries and some of the papers in them pertain to the Society of Jesus.

36. *Missões* (Missions)

They are seven in all of the period 1665 to 1791, and the documents in them are about the converts, accounts and terms of oaths of the missionaries in Bengal, Tibet, Rachol, Malabar and southern India. They are supplementary to the study of religious propagation in the East.

## REFERENCES

1. Tovar de Albuquerque, *Índice alfabético, chronológico e remissivo*, 1911.
2. 'Mapa Sinóptico de Documentos Existentes no Arquivo Geral do Governo Geral do Estado da Índia Portuguesa', 1926, prepared by A. Carneiro de Souza e Faro, in charge of Archives.
3. *Inventário dos MSS da Secção I do Archivo Geral e Histórico da Índia Portuguesa e Cartório do Governo Geral do Estado da Índia*.
4. *Inventário Geral do Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia*.
5. *Roteiro dos Arquivos da Índia Portuguesa* por Dr. Panduronga S.S. Pissurlencar.
6. A Guide to the collections of records from the Goa Archives, Panaji.
7. *Listas de Processos Civis, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Salcete*.

8. Listas de processos Crimes, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Salcete.
9. Listas de Inventário Orfanológico, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Salcete.
10. Relação dos livros da Administração das Comunidades de Salcete.

### 3

## Archives and Libraries in Rome Concerning Portuguese India

*Joseph Wicki*

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROME, or Italy, and India can claim a long tradition, which grew in significance and intensity as Rome incorporated in its empire Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Mesopotamia. Visible proofs for these relations are, for example, the numerous Roman coins discovered in South India. As, however, Islam rose as a barrier between Europe and India over an ever wider surface, these relations became difficult, but were never totally broken off. From the 11th century onwards we find not a few travellers and then Catholic missionaries reaching India from Italy with great difficulty and leaving accounts of their travels. These were rather sporadic visits.<sup>1</sup> This situation changed when in 1498 Vasco da Gama with his men landed at Calicut. Behind him stood the Portuguese State, which in the preceding decades had perseveringly and systematically explored and finally discovered the sea route to India. The aims of these travels were both the propagation of Christianity and the profitable trade in oriental products. The latter had until then reached Europe, especially Venice, through the mediation of Mohammedan traders. Through the direct way from Portugal to India over the Cape of Good Hope, the middleman's business was largely eliminated and Venice lost its importance. On the other hand the relations with Rome, the seat of the Popes, became ever closer, as Portugal, after the fall of Ceuta (1415), not only extended its political sovereignty over ever widening areas, but also systematically exercised the right of *Padroado* in them.<sup>2</sup> Thereby Rome had the final say in the founding and filling of dioceses in India, where Goa since 1534 as diocese and then since

1558 as archdiocese for centuries held the pride of place and whose prelate also bore the title of "Primate of all India".

The Portuguese soon discovered the so-called Thomas-Christians who, after a century of hybridization, were in 1599, in the Synod of Diamper, united with Rome through Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes, from the Augustinian Order. This Christianity also has left behind its traces in Rome, especially since 1622, when the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) was founded, which since then decisively intervened in the affairs of the Thomas-Christians. Whereas the official language of the regions under Padroado was mainly Portuguese, that of Propaganda was first Latin and then Italian. As with the Portuguese fleets often also priests, especially from the missionary Orders, travelled, it is natural that these Orders, which had their centres in Rome, should have in their Roman archives material which relates to Goa and to India. This is the case above all with the Jesuits, the Augustinians, the Capuchins and the Theatines, the first two coming under the Padroado, the last two under the Propaganda. Even though the influence of Portugal in India waned continually from the middle of the 17th century owing to various reasons, it would be wrong to think that with it the stock of documents in Rome dwindled; on the contrary, it grew enormously through the endless and unpleasant controversy between the Padroado and the Propaganda over jurisdiction.

As the most valuable mines of information on the relations between Rome and Goa are: the Vatican Archives and Library, the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, the Archives and the Library of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, and the National Central Library of Victor Emmanuel II, whereas the other archives and libraries of the Eternal City have proved to be less abundant.

### *The Vatican Archives*

The Vatican Archives in the present form were founded by Pope Paul V in 1612. In 1810 they were removed to Paris by Napoleon. In the years 1815-17 they came back to Rome, but not without considerable losses. In 1880 Pope Leo XIII made them accessible to the scientific world. However, at any given time, documents of the previous hundred years have remained closed to the public.

They are the archives of the administration of the Catholic Church and are immense in their extent, with hundreds of volumes of indices.<sup>3</sup> Of importance for Portugal and India are, of course, the bulls and briefs of the popes, which were published a hundred years ago in Lisbon, in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae regum*,<sup>4</sup> and which experienced an enrichment from the Vatican Archives through Fr. Ch. M. de Witte, confined however to the 15th century.<sup>5</sup> In the section *Nunziature, Portugal*, there is to be found many an important document concerning Portuguese India.

A specific fund (collection) is called *Missioni* with 163 numbers (items), which originally belonged to the Propaganda Fide, but which in 1810 was taken to Paris and then never restituted in its full extent.<sup>6</sup> There is an index available, which is in a summary form and not complete (Indice 1087). The documents refer to the Padroado, the question of rites, dispensations, the Coromandel and Malabar (maps) and to moral questions (in Malayalam). On the whole there is not very much here on Goa.

In volume 18, shelf 41, are the minutes of the four briefs to Francis Xavier as apostolic nuncio.<sup>7</sup>

As the popes from time to time lived at Castel Santangelo, many documents are designated as *AA*, i.e. *Archivum Arcis*, which are also to be consulted regarding Portuguese India. In general it can be said that a considerable amount of material is available here on our subject, but it takes a lot of time and patience to fish it out of a nearly boundless ocean.

### *The Vatican Library*

The modern Vatican Library was founded by Pope Sixtus IV in 1475. It consists of two big sections : the one containing books and periodicals, with a large consultation room, and the other containing manuscripts, which are ordered according to funds.<sup>8</sup> Of interest to us is the second one, and in it the *Fondo Vaticano Indiano*, which contains some 40 numbers, among which the constitution of the Thomas-Christians, composed in 1606 in the Malayalam language by their prelate, Bishop Francisco Ros (n. 18), the *Flos Sanctorum* in Tamil by Fr. H. Henriques, printed in 1586 (n. 24)<sup>9</sup> and the *Christu Purana* of Fr. Thomas Stephens, written in the standard language of the Brahmins of Goa and printed in 1616 at Rachol, but presented in manuscript form to

Pope Pius XI by Victor Coelho of Karwar around 1929 (n. 40).<sup>10</sup>

In the *Fondo Borgia Indiano*, so called after Cardinal Stefano Borgia (173-1804),<sup>11</sup> there exist a number of manuscripts, which this prince of the Church gathered during the time of Fr. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo.<sup>12</sup> 'India' was one of the ten divisions into which he classified his acquisitions. Other works which he assigned to *Fondo Borgia Latino* also belong to India: thus the Portuguese text of the Synod of Diamper (n. 632) and others of the Capuchin Agresti, the Carmelite Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, on D'Amato and on travels.<sup>13</sup> In this Library is also to be found a Portuguese-Malayalam dictionary of Fr. Ernst Hanxleden S. J. in the section *Borg. Lat.*, cod. 767, and in the section *Barb. V. XIV*, cod. 126 the *Doutrina christam* in Canarim (i.e. Konkani) printed in Rachol in 1642.<sup>14</sup>

There are also copies or translations of Jesuit letters from India and the Far East dispersed in *Vat. Lat.* 5516, 6206, 6434, in *Ottoboni lat.* 797 (for Card. Marcello Cervini) and in *Barb. lat.* 1748.

Precious are the autograph letters of Fr. Roberto Nobili, which for some years have been preserved in the section *Boncompagni* (before in the family archives).<sup>15</sup> In the extensive register, arranged according to names and places, and kept in the room near the hall of the investigators, there is not much to be found under 'Goa' or 'India'. One must seek for the material under the keyword 'Missioni cattoliche'.

In the section *Books* there is a copy of Fr. Etienne de la Croix S. J. (1579-1643) *Discurso sobre a vida do apostolo sam Pedro* [. . .] *em versos em lingoagem bramana marastta, Goa, na caza professa, 1634* (collocation: Barberini, LLL, III, 1). In the *Museo Missionario Etnologico* of the Vatican are some statues of Our Lady, of St. Joseph, some candle-sticks and chairs from Cuncolim, all belonging to Indo-Portuguese Art.

### *The Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*

The most important Roman Archives for Goa and Portuguese India are, without doubt, the Roman Archives of the Society Jesus at Borgo S. Spirito, 5, near St. Peter's. The origin of these Archives goes back to St. Ignatius of Loyola himself, who in 1547 found in Fr. Juan de Polanco an extraordinarily capable and industrious archivist, who for 25 long years conscientiously exercised

this important office.<sup>16</sup> The seats of the General as well as of the Archives were in the professed house of Gesù, where they remained until the 19th century! After the partial restoration by Pius VII of the Society of Jesus (suppressed earlier in 1773), the Archives were about the year 1805 given back to the Fathers although not in their full extent.<sup>17</sup> As a result of the hostile attitude of the Italian Government towards the Church, the Archives of the Society were taken to Holland after 1870 and from there one month before the outbreak of the Second World War shipped back to Rome, thus saving them from the clutches of Hitler, who in September 1939 invaded Holland. To this day the Jesuit Order is thankful to the General, Fr. Ledochowski, for his far-sighted and resolute action. With the settling down of the General in Rome—from 1773 to 1820 the highest superiors of the Order ruled in Russia—and with the fast growing Order, there originated the so-called 'New Archives'. For both of them Fr. J. Teschitel, the long-time archivist, composed an eight-page guide.<sup>18</sup> While the official designation of the Archives is ARSI, it was for a time also styled as ASIR. At this juncture, it may not be out of place to mention that in the year 1583 Fr. A. Valignano, the then Provincial, established a province-archive in Goa on the pattern of the Roman Archives.<sup>19</sup>

In these archives (we are going back to the subject of the Roman archives) both the in-coming as well as the out-going correspondence was kept. Under Father General M. Vitelleschi (1615-45) a big 'cleaning-up-operation' of its contents took place.<sup>20</sup> During the suppression of the Society, in the year 1786, with papal permission, fourteen volumes were handed over to Mgr. De Marini, bishop of Rieti.<sup>21</sup> Today the use of the archives is permitted up to the year 1900. Even the so-called 'catalogi secundi', i.e. catalogues containing secret informations on the character and abilities of each of the members, are since 1977 made available for publication. An examination of these, however, shows that they are rather general and, owing to their monotonous schematization, prove to be weary and tedious. Up to the beginning of our own century the single codices were not numbered, but were labelled according to their contents and years, like *Goa-Malab., Epistolae 1584-1589*. Today all the volumes are numbered according to sections, each section beginning with number 1.

The archives are arranged according to the structure of the

Order itself, first according to Assistancies, and then according to Provinces into which each Assistance is divided. For our material, as far as the 'Old Society' is concerned, one has to look under the Portuguese Assistance; for the 'New Society', however, under the Spanish Assistance, since the Portuguese Assistance as a separate entity does not exist any more. Besides the above mentioned rather general inventory of Fr. Teschitel, there is also a more detailed type-written one, compiled in 1910-11 and improved in 1935, which has been given over to the Historical Institute of the Order for its use. In it, under the heading *Provincia Goana and Malabarica* (pp. 36-8) are indicated 76 codices which, with some exceptions, refer wholly to India. Some of these codices are extensive and hence split up into two or even three parts.

Codex 1 contains copies of letters of Fr. General to India from 1712 to 1760. It is to be noted that the transcripts of the letters of the first three Generals (till 1570) are to be found under *Hisp.*, i.e. under the Spanish Assistance, while those between the years 1570 and 1720 have long been lost, and as the originals in India have also been lost — there exist only scanty remnants in Lisbon and Goa — the loss is indeed great. Such enormous gaps — which are to be noted also in connection with the Provinces of Portugal, Brazil and China — point to the fact that the material concerning the Portuguese Assistance was deliberately removed or destroyed. A number of the so-called 'soli-letters' (addressed to the superiors or definite members) are to be found in cod. *Goa 2* for Goa, and *Goa 3* for Malabar, in both cases only for the last century of the 'Old Society'. Letters sent from India to Rome between 1549 and 1610 are contained in the codices *Goa 8* to *16*, and those sent from Malabar between 1610 and 1767 are in the codices *Goa 17-20*. *Goa 21* is a collection of letters from Brazil, Goa and Malabar, covering a period of 200 years. *Goa 21a* is an index to the documents contained in Volumes *Goa 8* to *Goa 21* which are to a large extent autographs or originals. It is also to be noted here that the so-called Catalogue of Hafner (Fr. H. Hafner died in 1914) indicated in alphabetical order the names of Jesuits, whose letters are available in these Archives.

In Rome, great importance was attached to the *Fundationes*, i.e. title deeds of foundations or decrees of a financial nature of authorities on behalf of colleges and houses of the Society. Such documents, so far as they are preserved, are to be found in the codices

Goa 22 and 23. Here are also to be found all sorts of material concerning the dispute between the Jesuits in Goa and those of Cochin over the villages in Salsette donated by D. Pedro de Castro in 1587 in favour of the novitiate of Goa.

An important source for the history of the Jesuits in India are the catalogues of the Provinces of Goa and Malabar, which had to be periodically composed and sent to Rome. The oldest of this kind goes back to the end of 1552, with Xavier as Provincial. From their very rudimentary beginnings these catalogues, through various instructions of the General's Curia, became ever more detailed and provide us, on the whole, reliable information on the origin, age, occupation, character and talents of each member of the Province. The catalogues, preserved in the codices *Goa 24-29*, reach from 1552 to 1752, but not without gaps. The so-called *catalogi rerum* provide a general picture of the financial situation of the Province at a given time. *Goa 60* contains information on Fathers who came into question with regard to occupying offices of responsibility in the Province between 1720 and 1739.

A further section that is of interest to us is the so-called *Historia*, i.e., the external and edifying history of the Province which, beginning from 1585, was made known to the public through the printed *Litterae annuae*. For Goa and Malabar such history is contained in the codices *Goa 31* to *36* but not without very many gaps. *Goa 38* contains in great part the material obtained by Giovan Pietro Maffei for his *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, but little utilized, as his work ends with the reign of King John III of Portugal (1557). He considered the reign of King Sebastian (1578) to be too sad. The Annual Letters, at times very detailed, were composed in Goa or Cochin, after receiving the separate reports from the different regions or houses. The expression 'annual' should not be pressed too far, for at times several years passed by before another such letter was written. Unfortunately most of the informations on the activities of Fathers and Brothers are anonymous, i.e. the names of the persons concerned can only be identified through other sources. In *Goa 34 II*, f. 477, is to be found the hand-sketch of Bom Jesus together with its environs, made in the year 1654.

Corresponding to the Province of Goa, the archives possess a series of volumes of *Historia*, which concern the Dravidic south with Cochin as its centre. The documents, which mainly comprise the 16th and the 17th centuries, are to be found in the codices

Goa 47 to 57. The material concerning some missions has been collected in separate volumes : that regarding the activity of the Jesuits at the Moghul Court, between the years 1580 and 1690, in Goa 46 ; that regarding Mysore in Goa 45, 45a and 63 ; that concerning the synod of Diamper (its decrees) in Goa 62. The archives possess a secondary copy of Sebastião Gonçalves's *Historia, primeira parte* (1614) in Goa 37, whose better copy (original) is preserved in the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Lisbon. In the archives are also to be found a history or description of Malabar by Fr. Diogo Gonçalves (c. 1615) (Goa 58) ; a treatise on Hinduism by Gonçalo Fernandes, written in Portuguese in Madurai in 1616 (Goa 59) ; and a Portuguese translation of Yogaraj Tilak and of the 13th chapter of the Bhagavatgita according to Jñaneswar (Goa 46), (1558-60). A number of codices contain controversies : thus Goa 51 letters and controversies regarding Robert Nobili ; Goa 64-6 controversies between the bishops of Cochin and Angamale (1607) ; Goa 68 those between the bishop of Cranganore and the apostolic missionaries about 1650, and concerning the Capuchin named Francisco Maria (de Tours) (1707). For the sake of completion the codices Goa 39-44 and 71-6 are still to be mentioned. Of these the former concern the mission of Ethiopia and the latter that of Tibet, both of which were dependent on the Province of Goa. A supplementary volume, Goa 61a contains annotations on the Bull of Gregory XV, of January 3, 1623 (the founding of the Propaganda), and finally Goa 30, which contains statements over Portugal's patronage in relation to the churches of the East.

It would, however, be unwise to depend solely on the section Goa-Malabar : much material is found spread over other sections of the archives as well : thus, e.g., under the heading *Lus.*, Portugal, (names of missionaries, their informations, mission-procuration) ; *Hisp.*, Spain, ('indipetae', procuration, especially between 1580 and 1640), and *Ital.*, ('indipetae', stay of missionaries in Italy). Not to be overlooked are the sections *Institutum*, or Law of the Order (e.g. the codex 184, I-II on the 'new Christian' Jesuits, the descendants of Jews) ; the section *Congr.*, containing the acts of the Provincial Congregations of Goa and Malabar and the answers of Fathers General to them ; the section *Hist. Soc.*, containing the religious vows of members, the lists of those dead and those sent away ; the section *Opp. NN.*, works of Ours, under which is to be found the translation made by Fr. Francisco Garcia S. J., about

1620-30, of Vikramaditya and Harischandra and of extracts of other works of Indian literature from the Konkani-Marathi speaking regions (n. 192), whose originals are today preserved in the Biblioteca Publica at Braga, Portugal.<sup>22</sup> *Opp. NN.* 259 is the important work of Fr. Jeronimo Xavier, *Fuente de vida*,<sup>23</sup> and n.354 is an old anonymous Konkani dictionary in Portuguese alphabet.<sup>24</sup>

The archives of the 'New Society' begin very late, as far as Goa is concerned. The documents are to be found under the Portuguese Province, Goa mission, in three boxes, among which only the first, covering the years 1883-1918, is available. The answers of the Generals to the letters from Goa are classified under *Missiones Assistentiae Hispaniae*. Tome 1 covers the years 1861-86. A number of documents of the years 1841-72 were published in connection with the beatification of Bishop Anastasius Hartmann. O.F.M. Cap. (+1866).<sup>25</sup>

#### *The 'Fondo Gesuitico' in ARSI*

The archives of the Procurator-General of the Order were in the Roman College, when this College was confiscated by the Italian government in 1873. The reason why they were there and not in the general archives of the Order was that, according to the Constitutions of the Order, the Procurator-General could not live in a professed house. Thus, while the general archives remained with the Order, the material of these special archives was taken to the *Archivio di Stato* and remained there until 1924, when it was restored to the Order. The restored material — some remnants, however, are still to be found there <sup>26</sup> — was at first housed in the Gesù and then in 1945 brought to the ARSI, in all 1665 tomes, bundles and cases. These were classified, numerated and catalogued by Prof. Pio Pecchiai. Fr. E. Lamalle, the present archivist, in 1968 wrote a learned article on the material in the 'Fondo Gesuitico' (as the section is today called) as far as that material touched upon the missions.<sup>27</sup> Of the 19 titles, 8 and 9 deal exclusively with the missions, and at least eight others touch upon them. Excluding the documentation on R. de Nobili and John de Brito and on Malabar, mention could be made of at least the following numbers: n. 627, catalogues and informations on Jesuits in Goa between 1708 and 1731 ; n. 721 II 1, journey to India of Fr. Antonio Ceschi (1645); a dossier on the union of the Provinces of Goa and Malabar in

1698 ; n. 724, an information of Fr. Francisco Perez (1579) on the beginnings of the Society of Jesus in India;<sup>28</sup> n. 1443, subsection 9, 63 documents, an important series stretching from the 16th to 18th centuries, on the professed house of Goa, the seminary of St. Paul, the parishes on the island of Salsette, extracts of letters of the first three Generals with regard to India, and some documents concerning the convent of St. Monica of the years 1624 and 1723-33.

Under title IX, nn. 732-57, are 12 cases in which are preserved over 14,000 petitions of Jesuits of the 16th-18th centuries, asking the Generals to be sent to the overseas missions, be it eastern or western. In all there are over 6,000 petitioners (some repeated their requests). From early times the General had reserved for himself the right of selection in order to exclude in good time those who did not have a 'vocation'. The letters cover the years 1589 to 1770 and are ordered according to Provinces but not complete, for they are partly to be found in other sections of the archives. The petitions are estimated to be 22-24,000.<sup>29</sup>

#### *The Archives of the Pontificia Università Gregoriana*

As no catalogue of the material contained in these archives is available, it is difficult to say what they have, that is of interest to us. On the 14 volumes of miscellaneous letters of Fr. Athanasius Kircher, Fr. G. Schmieder composed in 1945 a useful inventory,<sup>30</sup> which was evaluated by this writer in an article, so far as these letters have a bearing on the missions.<sup>31</sup> As far as India is concerned there is not much, but the following could be mentioned: the letters of Ignazio Arcamone from Goa, of the year 1668; of Antonio Ceschi, from Chaul, of the year 1646 (concerning a script from Kaneri which he tries to imitate but cannot read) and from Surat and Agra, also of 1646; a code for India, with the key-word 'Goa',<sup>32</sup> and a description of the ten avatars of Vishnu beginning with the Trimurti. These archives possess also a number of copies of the letters of Nobili to his relations.<sup>33</sup>

#### *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II*

This big library, which after being housed in the former Collegio Romano for about a hundred years, now has a modern building of its own, with a stock of manuscripts, *Manoscritti Gesuitici*, which

once belonged to the above mentioned college, and which are useful for Goa and Portuguese India. A handwritten inventory facilitates the finding.<sup>34</sup> The fund contains a lot of material, which relates to controversies between various religions. For India we have the work of Ignazio Arcamone (n. 1153) on the Salsette peninsula, written in Latin in 1664, containing 87 folios of very small format, until now unedited. N. 1364, 9 is a statement on whether blood flowed out of the body of St. Francis Xavier in November 1614 when his arm was severed from the body. N. 1384, 24 is a document coming from the former Assistant to the General, Fr. Michael Dias (1706-13), who in the name of N. requires that the Jesuits may not become inquisitors or deputies of the Inquisition of Goa. N. 1385, 33 deals with the already known question, whether the Province of Malabar should be united to that of Goa. Also this document is of the year 1698. N. 1385, 11 contains the instruction of Fr. General Acquaviva of the year 1582, to Valignano, the new Provincial of India. In N. 1429 are some critical remarks on the above mentioned history of India of Maffei.

Especially the big bundle 1255 contains many documents that pertain to India. Thus under 7 is the instruction of General Acquaviva to the mission-procurator in Lisbon; under 16 are the ordinances of the General for the good government of the Province of Goa; under 41 is treated the question whether the Province is to be divided; under 42 are the disadvantages of bishops coming to the East Indies, without the mediation of the king of Portugal; under 45 the granting of the solemn profession on the ground of knowing an Indian language; under 47, whether Indians should be admitted into the Order; under 46, the reasons for the tension between the Portuguese and 'foreign' Jesuits in India.

Under N. 1549 is to be found a moral-code of Fr. Sebastião Amaia composed in Lisbon in 1645, which deals with the moral cases of both the Indies.

The library also contains precious old European prints concerning India, like the *Litterae annuae*, which were discovered decades ago by the bibliographer of the Catholic missions, Robert Streit, O.M.I.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Archives of the S. C. de Propaganda Fide*

Another mine of information on Goa and India, is the collection found in the archives of the Congregation for the Propagation

of Faith at Piazza di Spagna, in Rome. The objects of these archives are the administrative activity of the Congregation and not so much the culture and history of the different mission-countries. On the archives we possess an inventory, the *Inventario dell'archivio storico della S. Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'* by the late Fr. N. Kowalsky.<sup>36</sup>

The archives were founded in 1627, but only in 1660 was their first archivist named in the person of William Leslie. In 1810, these archives were also carried off to Paris and were brought back to Rome after the fall of Napoleon. The archives are ordered according to the system of government of the Congregation itself: on the top is a cardinal, the president of the Congregation. In 1893 the system of archiving was changed, which is not of importance to the researcher at present, as the documents of the last 100 years are inaccessible to him. The section *Atti* (proceedings of the meetings of the cardinals, held as a rule once a month) contains 328 volumes, covering the period between 1622 and 1960. The documents were initially written in Latin: since 1657, however, in Italian, as stated above. The basis of these meetings are the *Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali*, in two different periods, comprising 1041 volumes, ordered until 1668 geographically and thereafter chronologically. They contain memoranda of bishops, of missionaries, of nuncios and of apostolic visitors. In the geographically ordered series our material is to be found under the word *Indie* and in the tomes covering the period between 1627 and 1654. Moreover, tome 230 deals with D. Mateus de Castro, bishop of Chrysopolis; tome 231 with the Jesuits in the East Indies and tome 237 with Goa and Malabar. In the chronologically ordered series the years 1674, 1833-8 and 1864 are not to be overlooked.

Another series — *Scritture referite nei congressi* — contains in 1346 tomes the weekly discussions held between the cardinal, the secretary and the recorder on the letters of missionaries, ordered partly according to the geographical considerations and partly in direct relation to the Congregation.

Here there are 40 tomes on the East Indies and China, reaching up to 1799, and a further 37 only on India, reaching up to 1892. From the fund *Wien* (during the restitution apparently by mistake sent to Vienna), restituted to Rome in 1925 through the mediation of the famous historian of the popes, L. von Pastor, the tomes 29 and 30 concern India (years 1788-90, 1791-8). Under *Miscellanea*

*varie* figures tome 3: the defence of the Portuguese patronage.

On the indices of the archives (there are 28 available today), the present archivist, Dr J. Metzler, wrote a solid study dealing with their history, peculiarity and contents.<sup>37</sup> Special attention should be paid to the expression 'Indie Orientali', which however is very comprehensive and demands time-consuming work.

Under the bold initiative of Dr Antonio da Silva Rego, Fr. Brásio in 1959 and a little later Artur B. de Sá were sent from Portugal to Rome to microfilm the material there which was of importance for the Padroado. Brásio examined the material of the Propaganda up to the year 1640, at first, while Sá continued the work up to 1700 and published the results of his study in the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*.<sup>38</sup> The Propaganda archives were characterised by him as 'intricado, complexo e vasto',<sup>39</sup> the documents as 'sem conta, dispersos ou desconhecidos, e até extraviados', and the geographical and name-index as 'muito imperfeitos'. The content in their judgement, was a respectable collection of 'queixas, acusações e censuras a Portugal', 'provenientes de fontes demasiado inquinadas', but which were at times revised by the Propaganda, asking further informations.<sup>40</sup> Until the Easter of 1961, 556 documents were listed and some 4100 pages were micro-filmed for the *Centro de Estudos Ultramarinos*.<sup>41</sup> Thereafter the research was, for the time being at least, interrupted owing evidently to political happenings.

With the one-sided material of the Propaganda several doctoral dissertations were also written, which, however, were later contested and corrected by others.<sup>42</sup> In dogmatic questions the Congregation depended on the decisions of the Holy Office (Inquisition), but the Archives of this institution are until today inaccessible.

### *The Library of the Propaganda Fide*

The need to have a library of the Congregation was felt from the very start, but informations on its beginnings are scarce, even after the foundation of the Collegio Urbano. In 1907, a total of 1158 *incunabula* and *Editiones principes* were transferred to the Vatican Library on the order of Pope Pius X, and were thus made accessible to the public. When under Pius XI the Propaganda College was started on the Gianicolo hill, the remaining books were brought

there. Previously, however, the Pope had started a papal mission-library, which in 1968 counted some 100,000 volumes made accessible through four different catalogues (authors, subjects, languages and periodicals). In the great hall C are books on India, Indochina and the Philippines.<sup>43</sup> In the near future all the books, with the exception of the older ones, are to be brought to the newly built library near the Urbanian University.

*S. Congregatione per il Clero (Piazza Pio XII)*

Here, in the hall of the councils, are preserved the acts and decrees of the sixth council of Goa (1894-5), with other documents related to it.

*The Archives of the Augustinians (Piazza S. Uffizio)*

On these archives there is an informative article by Fr. Bruno Alessandri, O.S.A.<sup>44</sup> The Augustinians came to India in 1572. They remained there until 1835, when Portugal suppressed all religious orders. A mighty wall of their former monastery and the convent of St. Monica in Old Goa, the first of sisters in India, remind the visitor of the presence of the Augustinians. Like the others, their Roman archives were also taken to France in 1810 and much of them did not return, although something was later rediscovered. Under 48Aa and 49Aa is Portugal as supporter of the missions (1540-1700 and 1600-1727 respectively): under Aa 42 (1597-1739) and Aa 41 (1633-1715) are the East Indies as a mission field; and under Cc 123 are the Malabar rites to be found (1720-44). However, as one can see, large periods remain uncovered.

*Biblioteca Casanatense*

This library was founded in 1698 by Cardinal Casanate and was given by him to the Dominicans of S. Maria sopra Minerva. In 1873 it was nationalized and was made accessible to the public.<sup>45</sup> In this library is to be found the manuscript 1889, with coloured drawings of Indian costumes made around 1540. The manuscript once belonged to the Jesuit college of Goa.<sup>46</sup> The 141 pictures contained in it were restored in 1931. Pictures 37 to 125 relate to India, while the others represent people from Africa up to China.

All efforts to bring out these fine pictures in print have so far proved unsuccessful. Goa, in its strict sense, is represented by nn. 71-5 (mainatos, blacksmiths, Brahmins and goldsmiths). To photograph each picture, in colour, would cost Lire 3000 (nearly Rs 40) plus a further Lire 3000 for a copy for the Library.

In this library there is also a copy, perhaps the only one known today, of the little booklet *Purgatorii commentarium*, written by the Jesuit Ignazio Arcamone in 1663, in the Konkani language.<sup>47</sup> This treatise, *Purgatorychy sassaryltica* comprises 65 folios in duodecimo format and is, in part, difficult to read, owing to the bad quality of the paper. It is registered under *II XI, 3*.

Our examination of the archives and libraries of Rome, with special reference to Goa and Portuguese India, is certainly not exhaustive, but it shows what one can hope to find there. As the centre of Catholicism and of the most important missionary Orders, Rome was the birthplace of great missionary impulses, which in the Padroado and in the Propaganda Fide found their expressions, especially in the controversies over jurisdiction and in the question of rites. The former have, through the total elimination of the political power of Portugal in India, been definitively settled; and the latter, through the second Vatican Council, have entered into a totally new phase.

## NOTES

1. Pietro Amat di S. Filippo, *Biografia dei viaggiatori italiani con la bibliografia delle relazioni di viaggio dai medesimi dettate*, (Rome, 1881); G. Tucci, *Italia e Oriente*, (Milan, 1949); *India and Italy*, Exhibition Catalogue by R. Cimino and Scialpi, (Rome, 1974).
2. A. da Silva Rego, *Le patronage portugais de L'Orient. Aperçu historique*, (Lisbon, 1957).
3. M. Giusti, *II Vaticano e Roma cristiana*, (Città del Vaticano, 1975), pp. 335-53 *L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*.
4. L. M. Jordão, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae regum*, I (1171-1600) (Lisbon, 1868); V. de Paiva Manso, II (1601-1700) (Lisbon, 1870); III, (Lisbon, 1873).
5. Ch. M. de Witte, 'Les Bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle'. Extracts from the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1958, (Louvain, 1958).

6. H. Hoberg, 'Der Fonds "Missioni" des Vatikanischen Archivs', in *De Archivis et Bibliothecis missionibus atque scientiae missionum inservientium*, (Rome, 1968), pp. 97-107.
7. J. Wicki, 'Der hl. Franz Xaver als Nuntius Apostolicus', in *Studia Missionalia* 3, (Rome, 1947), pp. 107-30.
8. J. Ruyschaert, 'La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', in *Il Vaticano e Roma cristiana*, pp. 307-33.
9. J. Wicki, 'O "Flos Sanctorum" do P. H. Henriques', in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 73, (1956), pp. 42-9.
10. Cf. G. Schurhammer, 'Thomas Stephens (1549-1619)', in *Gesammelte Studien*, II, *Orientalia*, (Rome, 1963), pp. 374-6. It seems that Fr. Schurhammer did not know of the copy in the Vatican Library.
11. W. Henkel, O.M.I., 'Kard. Stefano Borgia als Sammler von Handschriften', in *Euntes Docete* 22, (Rome, 1969), pp. 547-64.
12. R. M. Cimino, 'Un indologo del 700: Padre Paolino di S. Bartolomeo', in *II Veltro* 21, (1977), pp. 343-52.
13. F. Margiotti O.F.M., 'Materiale missionario nel Fondo Borgia Latino della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', in *De Archivis et Bibliothecis*, pp. 438-42.
14. J. Wicki, 'Sei lettere inedite del P. Roberto Nobili S.I., 1606, 1607, 1615' in *ARSI* 37, (1968), pp. 129-44.
15. Cf. *ARSI* 7, (1938), 168, Nr. 221.
16. Schurhammer, 'Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu (1538-48)', in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, *Xaveriana*, (Rome, 1964), pp. 477-88.
17. E. Lamalle, 'La documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le Fondo Gesuitico au Archives romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus', in *De Archivis et Bibliothecis*, pp. 136-7.
18. 'Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (*ARSI*)', in *Archivum* 4, (1954), pp. 145-52.
19. J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica XIII* (1583-5) (Rome, 1975) pp. 395. 716, (*MHSI*).
20. *ARSI*, Congr. 25 p.lv (1615); Rom. pp. 3.29 (1617).
21. E. Lamalle, 'La documentation', pp. 136-7.
22. *O Homem das Trinta e Duas perfeições e outras histórias. Escritos da Literatura Indiana. Traduzidos por Dom Francisco Garcia S. I., publicados e anotados por J. Wicki*, (Lisbon, 1958), pp. XVIII-XXI.
23. Cf. A. Camps, O.F.M., *Jerome Xavier and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire. Controversial Works and Missionary Activity*, (Beckenried, 1957), p. 18 note 3. For other works of J. Xavier in Roman archives or libraries see *ibid.* p. XIII.
24. See also the review of J. Gomes of another *Vocabulário da língua Canarina com versam Portuguesa*, in *AHSI* 45, (1976), pp. 366-7.
25. *Monumenta Anastasiana* V, ed. C. Moser, (Luzern 1948), pp. 449-754.
26. Cf. M. Cristofari Mancina, 'Documenti gesuitici reperiti nell Archivio di Stato di Roma 1561-70, 1591', in *ARSI* 35, (1966), pp. 79-130.
27. Cf. E. Lamalle, art. quoted in the note 15, pp. 131-76.
28. J. Wicki, 'Das neuentdeckte Xaverius leben des P. Francisco Perez S. I. (1579)', in *ARSI* 34, (1965), pp. 36-78.
29. Lamalle, art. quoted in note 15, pp. 160-2.
30. Carteggio del P. Atanasio Kircher, Archivio della Pont. Univ. Gregoriana, nn. pp. 555-68. Indice delle 14 filie con indice alfabetico generale, (Rome, 1945).

31. 'Die *Miscellanea* des P. Athanasius Kircher S.I. in missionarischer Sicht' in J. Wicki, *Missionskirche im Orient*, (Immensee, 1976), pp. 282-308.
32. Cf. also Wicki, 'Die Chiffre in der Ordenskorrespondenz der Gesellschaft Jesus von Ignatius bis General Oliva (ca. 1554-1676)' in *ARSI* 32, 1963, pp. 133-77; on pp. 155, 166-9 are the ciphers for India.
33. J. Wicki, 'Lettere familiari del P. Roberto Nobili S.I., 1609-49', in *ARSI* 38, 1969, pp. 313-24.
34. *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Gesuitici*. Articoli estratti dal *Catalogo dei manoscritti Gesuitici* posto nella Sala riservata della Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, now in the Jesuit House of Writers, Rome (ms.).
35. Cf. R. Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca missionum*, vol. IV, (Aachen 1928); vol. V, (Aachen 1929); J. Wicki, 'Von den gelegentlichen Veröffentlichungen der Missionsbriefe aus Übersee zu den offiziellen Litterae Annuae der Gesellschaft Jesu (1545-1583)', in *Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire* 32, 1976, pp. 95-129.
36. Beckenried 1961 (*Les Cahiers de la Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire*, p. 17).
37. 'Indici dell "Archivio storico della S.C. De Propaganda Fide"', in *De Archivis et Bibliothecis*, pp. 109-30.
38. No. 17, (Lisbon 1961), pp. 45-128.
39. *Ibid.* p. 39 (A.B. de Sá).
40. *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.
41. *Ibid.* p. 41.
42. E.g. on D. Mateus de Castro and D. Francisco Garcia (K. Werth P.S.M., Limburg and J. Thekedathu S.D.B., Rome 1972). See also *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide rerum*, 1622-1972, I, 2, pp. 547-71; J. Wicki, 'Unbewaltigte Probleme in Indien, Ceylon und Birma', II, pp. 933-60 J. Wicki, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien'; III, 1, pp. 388-433; J. Metzler, 'Die Missionen der Kongregation in Indien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung'; A. Spalla, 'Le missioni teatine nelle Indie Orientali nel secolo XVIII e le cause della loro fine,' in *Regnum Dei* 27, Rome 1971, pp. 1-76; 28, 1972, pp. 265-305; A. Seumois, O.M.I. 'Thèses missionaires à l'Université De Propaganda Fide (1956-67)', in *De Archivis et Bibliothecis*, pp. 701-12.
43. J. Metzler, O.M.I., 'The Pontifical Missionary Library *De Propaganda Fide*,' in *De Archivis et Bibliothecis*, pp. 347-60.
44. 'L' Archivio generale agostiniano di Roma e le missioni,' pp. 177-190.
45. Cf. *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 3. (Città del Vaticano 1949), pp. 968-9. This Library is especially related to the History of the Church.
46. G. Schurhammer, 'Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier,' in *Gesammelte Studien*, II, *Orientalia*, (Rome, 1963), pp. 111-48 (with 8 pictures).
47. Cf. Cimino-Scialpi, *India and Italy*, p. 88.

# 4

## The Monsoon Codices at the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo

A. da Silva Rego

### (a) *The Lisbon Codices*

LIVROS DAS MONCOES OR MONSOON BOOKS is the title of 62 codices existing at the National Portuguese Archives in Lisbon. It is also the title of the chief collection still at the Goa Archives, of some 240 volumes. The 62 codices came to Lisbon called for by a royal letter of 10th February 1774. They were sent only in April 1777. It was then thought that 60 codices had been sent, but on arrival it was found that they were 62. The codices cover the period 1605-50.

Here is the list of the 62 *Monsoon Books*, giving the dates and the number of documents in each book. The list was published by A.C. Teixeira de Aragão, in his *Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas Cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal* (3 vols., Lisbon, 1880, p. 82).

- |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. 1605-07, 54 documents        | 11. 1618-19, 369 documents |
| 2. 1607-08, 28 documents        | 12. 1619, 193 documents    |
| 3. 1609-10, 60 documents        | 13. 1620, 170 documents    |
| 4. 1610-11, 74 documents        | 14. 1620, 81 documents     |
| 5. 1612, 81 documents           | 15. 1620-22, 346 documents |
| 6. 1612-13, 1699, 126 documents | 16. 1622, 360 documents    |
|                                 | 17. 1622-23, 280 documents |
| 7. 1613-14, 112 documents       | 18. 1623, 201 documents    |
| 8. 1614-15, 146 documents       | 19. 1624, 209 documents    |
| 9. 1616, 161 documents          | 20. 1624, 228 documents    |
| 10. 1616-17, 171 documents      | 21. 1625, 237 documents    |

22. 1625-26, 422 documents	There is a document from
23. 1626, 273 documents	1636
24. 1626-27, 435 documents	45. 1638-39, 241 documents
25. 1628, 231 documents	46. 1639-41, 157 documents,
26. 1628-29, 316 documents	document from 1636
27. 1630, 261 documents; a	47. 1640-41, 73 documents
printed document,	48. 1640-44, 542 documents
1629	49. 1641-42, 105 documents
28. 1631, 214 documents	50. 1641-44, 140 documents
29. 1631-32, 124 documents	51. 1642-43, 152 documents
30. 1632-33, 374 documents	52. 1643, 139 documents
31. 1633-34, 322 documents	53. 1643, 22 documents
32. 1635, 117 documents	54. 1644, 10 documents
33. 1634-36, 304 documents	55. 1644-47, 298 documents
34. 1635-36, 59 documents	56. 1645-56, 1653, document
35. 1635-36, 315 documents	from 1644
36. 1636, 251 documents	57. 1645-48, 211 documents,
37. 1636-37, 258 documents	document from 1640
38. 1636-37, 374 documents	58. 1647-49, 55 documents,
39. 1637, 53 documents	two documents from 1720
40. 1637-38, 189 documents	59. 1648-49, 52 documents,
41. 1638, 160 documents	document from 1647
42. 1637-38, 124 documents	60. 1649-50, 194 documents
43. 1638, 161 documents	61. 1650-51, 317 documents
44. 1638-39, 187 documents.	62. 1624-97, 105 documents

(b) *Publication of the Monsoon Books*

Teixeira de Aragão wrote on the same page :

'The Royal Academy of Science decided the publication of these Books and appointed the learned Rodrigo de Lima Felner to direct such a scheme. Shortly before his death, he was substituted by the illustrious Academician Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, aided by the experienced palaeographer Mr. José Gomes Goes. Three volumes are already printed which contain the first nine of the *Documentos Remettidos da India*.'

Indeed the first volume of the *Monsoon Books* was issued in Lisbon the same year 1880, under the direction of Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato. He arranged the documents in a chronological order. Thus, the first volume contains documents from 26th February

1605 to 29th December 1611, including the first four *Monsoon Books*. The second volume, published in 1884, embraces documents from 19th January 1612 to the 7th January 1614, taken from Books 4-7. The third volume appeared in 1885, including documents from the 14th January 1612 to the 10th December 1616. Besides, it published two documents from Book 3 (1602 and 1610), and one from Book 4 (1606) and another from Book 7. The fourth volume came to light only in 1893, because the Royal Academy of Science had meanwhile decided to publish the *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*. The first volume of this collection dates from 1884, the second from 1898, the third from 1903, the fourth from 1910, the fifth from 1915, the sixth from 1915 and the seventh from 1935.

Let it be remembered, however, that the third volume of *Descrição das Moedas cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal* was issued in 1880. As observed above, the author asserts that at this time (1880) three volumes of the *Documentos Remettidos da India* or *Monsoon Books* were already printed. There was some mistake: the books might have been ready for print, they came to light only in 1880, 1884 and 1885. The fourth volume was edited in 1893, offering documents from Book 10 and a part from Book 11. Mr Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato died in 1912. This may explain to some extent why the fifth volume had to wait up to 1935, with documents from Books 11-12.

The Lisbon Academy of Science decided recently to continue the publication of the well known collection. Thus the sixth volume appeared in 1974, with Books 12 and 13 (1619-20). It also included a few documents, belonging to Book 6, and related to 1699. Volume seven, 1975, is entirely devoted to Book 15 (1620-22). Volume eight, 1977, publishes a single *Monsoon Book* (16), covering also a single year, 1622. Finally, volume nine is with the printers and this volume will contain two *Monsoon Books* (17 and 18).

### (c) Scheme of this paper

In this study particular attention will be given to events registered in India only, ignoring those belonging to other areas, such as Mozambique, Ceylon, Malacca, Macau and elsewhere. We shall ignore also *Monsoon Books* 1-18, as they may be easily consulted in print, in the volumes already mentioned. They, however, may be quoted here and there, in order to reinforce statement

found in *Monsoon Books* 19-62.

The paper is divided into three chapters : Administration, Trade and Social matters. It is a very light survey, to call attention once more to this importance collection existing in the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. This collection was already largely utilized by a few authors, the principal of them being Admiral Alfredo Botelho de Sousa in his work *Subsidios para a História Militar Maritima da India* (4 vols., Lisbon, 1930-56).

### *Administration*

(a) *Governors*: First of all, let us recall the names of the governors or viceroys of Portuguese India from 1624 to 1651. As it was pointed out, the *Monsoon Books* contain a few documents related to later periods, but they may be ignored for our purpose. The governors are the following :

1. 1622-28 Viceroy D. Francisco da Gama, Count of Vidigueira.
2. 1628-29 D. Fr. Luis de Brito, bishop of Mylapur, as provisional governor. On his death (1639), he was substituted by a Government Council during a few months, until the arrival of the new viceroy.
3. 1629-35 D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares. His government was rather controversial. In one of this letters to the King, he boasted that out of 24 hours of the day, he reserved only three for himself, the remaining 21 being spent in the King's service (*B.* 29, fl. 35).
4. 1635-36 D. Pedro da Silva, viceroy. Died in Goa after a short period of a few months, from December 1935 to June 1636. His letters to the King are full of complaints, not only regarding the sad situation he had found in India but also against the behaviour of the previous viceroy. There was no money (*B.* 36, fl. 123). There were no sailors, no soldiers. He was in need of people, not of ships. Goa was being abandoned by local shipping (*B.* 38, fl. 263).
5. 1636-40 Antonio Teles de Menezes, governor.
6. 1640-45 João da Silva Telo de Menezes, viceroy, Count of Aveiras. On the 9th September 1641 news reached Goa that Portugal had regained its independence from Castille.
7. 1646-51 D. Filipe Mascarenhas, viceroy. The Dutch were

blockading Goa (B. 47, fl. 85v). Besides, no fleet had arrived from Portugal in 1642 (B. 51, fl. 150).

The governors were assisted by a State Council which used to meet twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays.

(b) *The change of dynasty* ; The national revolution of 1st December 1640 brought about deep changes in India. Until then, Castille was a friendly and protective nation, linked with the Portuguese under the same king. Relations between Goa, Macau and Manila were cordial, although trade between the Portuguese and Spaniards was to be kept separate.

When the news reached Goa that the period of personal union of the two Iberian crowns had ceased, the viceroy João da Silva Telo de Menezes, Count of Aveiras, hastened to proclaim D. João IV as the true and legitimate king of Portugal. The news was received with general satisfaction. Meanwhile Malacca had fallen into Dutch hands—on 1st January of the same year 1641. *Monsoon Book* 48 (1640-8) thus contains various correspondence belonging to the two dynasties. It includes copies of 18 letters from the new King of Portugal.

One of the most welcome measures taken by John IV was the grant of free navigation to all the Portuguese (*Ibid.*, fl. 338v). Besides the Portuguese in India realized that there was no reason for any more hostilities between themselves and the Dutch or the English. No wonder that they tried to enter into truce negotiations at once (it just happened that the Dutch were blockading Goa once more, when the happy news broke out regarding Portuguese independence). The Dutch, however, were not in a hurry to accept them. Naturally difficulties arose, being described in Book 50 (1642-3), fl. 91-2, 97, 171-204, 271). The Dutch ambassador Peter Boreel was duly received in Goa, well recommended by the Java president Anthony van Diemen (B. 48, fls. 151, 156-71, 178v, 266, 269, 276v, 319, 330v). It must not be forgotten that the Dutch had enriched themselves at the cost of the Portuguese possessions and navigation.

In Europe negotiations were easier than in the East. In 1641 Portugal signed a peace treaty with France and the United Provinces. The next year England also recognized Portuguese independence. Thus differences between the Portuguese and the English had also to be removed. Let it be remembered that even during the previous dynasty, the Portuguese attitude towards the English was different

from the one towards the Dutch. The viceroy even received a letter from the king of England. Soon relations between Goa and the English changed for the better (*Ibid.*, fl. 309). Book 49 (1641-2) contains several documents on the same subject (fls. 1-3). A well received measure taken by John IV was the suppression of some taxes introduced during the Philippine dynasty (fl. 15).

After 1641, the truce negotiations between the Portuguese and the Dutch continue to occupy the main official attention (*B.* 51, fls. 61, 75). On his part the Dutch governor of Batavia wrote several letters to his Goan colleague (*B.* 51, fls. 89-114). The Dutch Pulikat governor, however, flatly refused to accept the truce (*B.* 51, fl. 188). Books 51 and 52 offer many documents on the vexed truce question. Many documents are in Dutch, in Latin and in Portuguese. Books 55 and 56 continue to offer documents on this question (*B.* 57, fls. 59, 63). Of course, while the Portuguese were in a hurry to finish with the hostilities, the Dutch on their part were intent on moving slowly towards a conclusion which in the end was to tie their hands and favour the Portuguese. This explains why the Dutch tried to blockade Goa again, after the truce (*B.* 60, fl. 111). Truce negotiations with the English and the Danes of Tranquebar were rather easier (*B.* 55, fl. 41).

(c) *A few notes on military matters*: Military discipline was essential for the maintenance of the Portuguese in India (*B.* 20, fl. 143; *B.* 23, fls. 79; *B.* 26, fls. 27, 30, 146). It was the King's desire that militia, as it was carried on in Europe, should be introduced in India. It was to start with a battalion of 600 infantrymen who were to be punctually paid. This recommendation dates from 1626. Soldiers, are, of course, the object of numerous documents. On their arrival in Goa, they wandered a bit at random. The Portuguese Eastern empire depended mainly on sea communications. Thus arose the urgent need to maintain many fleets ready to sail at short notice.

An often repeated recommendation, on the part of the kings, was that the 'fidalgos' should help the soldiers, as much as they could, before being taken on board any ship. Many 'fidalgos', mainly in the beginning, were proud to 'give tables' that is to feed the soldiers at their own expense (*B.* 27, fl. 4; *B.* 33, fl. 37; *B.* 46, fl. 119). During the governorship of D. Francisco da Gama, Count of Vidigueira (1622-8), there was some difficulty in finding 'fidalgos' who would volunteer to accept such a task. The viceroy asked some citizens and merchants of Goa to take care of them (*B.* 24, fl. 12v).

As time passed, soldiers became less interested in military service. They were supposed to serve four years on board the high-seas fleets, and another four on board other ships. Consequently some of them, shortly after their arrival, would try to find their way home, without permission (*B.24*, fl.67; *B.30*, fls. 49,61). Many of them continued to stay in India, but would enter into some religious convent, in such a way that it inspired a popular saying: 'it was better to be a friar than a soldier' (*B.30*, fl. 255).

The presence of the Dutch and the English in the Indian Ocean forced the Portuguese to take the necessary precautions to defend their own possessions. One of the adopted measures was the so-called 'high-seas fleets', commanded by selected personalities, and handled by special crews. The ships belonged usually to the galleon class built either in Portugal or in India, in the shipyards of Damaun, Bassein or even in Goa. The *Monsoon Books* contain many references to such 'high-seas fleets'. Some of their commanders have earned justified renown, such as Nuno Alvares Botelho Rui Freire de Andrada, Antonio Teles de Menezes, etc. (*B.26*, fl. 58, 66). With the increase of danger, it was ordered that all ships, even those belonging to private individuals, should be duly armed with artillery (*B.32*, fls. 47-59).

Another object of frequent mention is the need for artillery. It seems that ships were insufficiently armed, owing to want of artillery (*B.20*, fl. 119). In the beginning, all cannon, small or large, were taken to India and the East on board Portuguese ships. Afterwards they were also cast overseas (*B.28*, fl. 324; *B.30*, fl. 166). According to this source, Macau was already famous for melted iron cannon, the Chinese being held in high consideration for their skill in this art. Now and then mention is made of artillery brought from China, that is from Macau (*B.21*, fl. 2; *B.37*, fl. 29, fls. 137, 177; *B. 33*, fl. 117). Skilled workers were also found in Japan (*B.25*, fl. 31). It is curious to note that the King himself avows that in Portugal there were no officials capable of making iron melted cannon (*B.23*, fl. 50).

One of the main concerns of the Goan Government was to look after the many fortifications scattered all over. The Northern fortifications were centered around Diu, Chaul, Bassein, and Caranja. The fortifications of the North had been confided to the Jesuits' responsibility, the governors being satisfied with their work (*B.24*, fl. 12v; *B.25*, fls. 141-2; *B.26*, fls. 11, 78, 208; *B.27*, fl. 74; *B.29*, fl.173; *B.56*, fl. 206). The Southern fortifications were mainly Cannanore,

Cranganore, Mangalore, Onur, Barcelore and Mylapur (*B.38*, fls. 141, 143, 147, 173, 175, 178, 291).

(d) *The rôle of Goa* : On arriving in India, the Portuguese looked for a place where they could establish the capital of their different posts of influence. Afonso de Albuquerque had come from Europe with a confessed feeling of enmity towards Islam, the Moors. On arriving, he found different religions in India. For him there was no doubt regarding the choice between Hinduism and Islam. On the advice of his friend Timoja, a Hindu, he picked Goa, belonging to the sultan of Bijapur, as the capital of the Portuguese possessions.

Goa could boast of having been granted the same privileges enjoyed by Lisbon. The Goa Municipal Chamber was in constant correspondence with the kings. The charitable institution of Our Lady of Mercy, the different religious convents, the schools, etc., made Goa known all over the world. This explains also why the name of Goa is perhaps the most quoted all through the *Monsoon Books*.

(e) *The neighbour-kings* : Politically, during our period (1605-50), India comprised the Mughal empire, Deccan sultanates and Hindu kingdoms. The Mughal empire stretched from North to South and from West to East, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese duly acknowledged the fact when they referred to 'The Great Mughal'. Indeed Akbar the Great, who died in 1605, had divided his empire into 18 provinces or 'subahs', ruled by viceroys or 'subahdars'. Akbar had conquered the whole of Hindustan and menaced the Deccan. His successors continued to carry out his plans, mainly Aurangzeb, and in such a way that by 1687 all the Deccan sultanates had fallen under the Mughal empire. The Deccan sultanates were mainly Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda. Finally there were the southern Hindu kingdoms, also known as 'Polygars', such as Cochin, Quilon and other less important, princedom.

The *reis vizinhos* or 'neighbour-kings' were all those rajahs or sultans situated in the vicinity of Portuguese towns or settlements, mainly Goa, Cochin, Damaun, Chaul, Mylapur. Such 'neighbour-kings' generally allowed the Portuguese to build factories or even fortresses in their territories.

These kings were topics of yearly information provided by the governors. Such information covered all the Eastern kings, not only those of India. Book 30, fl. 35, for instance, mentions as such the kings of Johore, Kedah, Perak, and Macassar; Book 39, fl. 40, gives

a letter from the king of Portugal to the rajah of Pahang, and at fl. 45 a royal letter to the queen of Patane. The suggestions from the Portuguese kings regarding the relations with the Eastern monarchs were practically always the same, pointing out the need of maintaining cordial relations with all of them (*B.52*, fl. 32; *B.53*, fl. 9; *B.55*, fl. 15. Also *B.34*, fl. 39; *B.21*, fl. 69).

The king of Cochin was the first to befriend the Portuguese, immediately after their arrival in India, and these harmonious relations lasted. This friendship may be explained by the fact that the Cochin rulers had the same interests as the Portuguese regarding the Zamorins of Calicut, direct rivals of Cochin. The Portuguese were soon granted permission to build a fortress at Cochin. Thus began a strange but interesting common Portuguese-Hindu life, side by side. Christians even enjoyed a kind of protection. The Portuguese kings and the Cochin rulers considered themselves 'brothers in arms', and often corresponded with each other. The Cochin king nearly always had a Portuguese secretary. The Portuguese budget in Goa included a kind of subsidy for the Cochin ruler, for his household, being known as the 'copas de el-rei'. 'Copa' is the same as 'buffet'. As its payment failed sometimes, the king of Cochin would write to his 'brother', the king of Portugal, complaining about it, and the latter, of course, would write at once to the viceroy commanding him to pay the said 'copas' (*B.30*, fl. 208; *B.33*, fl. 18, 179; *B.52*, fl. 194; *B.55*, fl. 33; *B.25*, fl. 270; *B.26*, fl. 83; *B.30*, fl. 41).

Cochin came first, immediately after Goa, both in honour and responsibility. Its Chamber corresponded directly with the Portuguese kings. The confraternity of Our Lady of Mercy (*Misericordia*) had also the same status as that of Goa (*B.26*, fl. 9). Cochin demanded permission to send every year a ship to Portugal, on her own responsibility and profit (*B.37*, fl. 247). The other cities were demanding just the same for themselves. Cochin was not far from Calicut. The relations with the Samorin were quite normal. One of his ports was Pallipur or Paravur. The Dutch were trying to establish themselves here. The Portuguese, of course, looked at such attempts with particular anxiety (*B.26*, fl. 15; *B.25*, fl. 184). During our period (1605-50) relations between the Portuguese and Calicut were quite normal. It seems that the Samorin even thought of receiving baptism. This desire, however, remained unfulfilled (*B.37* fl. 427; *B.38*, fl. 21).

The next neighbour-king was the Adil Shah or Adil Khan, sultan

of Bijapur. The Portuguese named him 'Idalcão', he being one of the most mentioned monarchs in this collection. The Portuguese frequented his court and Adil Shah had an appointed ambassador in Goa. Relations between Bijapur and Goa may be termed 'normal' all along our period. The Portuguese had orders from Lisbon to keep the peace with Adil Shah (*B.20*, fl. 131). Bijapur looked at the Great Mughal as the chief potential danger to its independence. Years later, 1686-88, Aurangzeb would indeed rule over the Deccan sultanates. Adil Shah felt that the Portuguese were opposed to his overtures to the Dutch and English. In spite of it, he accepted both of them into his port of Vingurla, north of Goa. Adil Shah's ambassador used to live outside Goa, beyond the frontier, in territory belonging to Bijapur. The Portuguese governors felt hurt by his attitude. This is an object of frequent correspondence (*B.27*, fl. 152, 158; *B.30*, fl. 115). According to this last document, the Portuguese monarch had directed a personal letter to 'Mamede Raze' (Mohamed Rajah) the Mughal's ambassador in Goa.

Portuguese missionaries also frequented the court of Bijapur, where lived other Portuguese (*B.57*, fl. 388; *B.61*, fl. 37). All main events registered at Bijapur were at once known and commented in Goa. Adil Shah was very often at war with the Great Mughal and Malik Amber (*B.40*, fl. 10, 57; *B.39*, fl. 54). In spite of everything, the Portuguese governors were ordered by royal letter to assist Adil Shah in his wars against the Great Mughal. Adil Shah, when confronting the Great Mughal, demanded help from the Portuguese (*B.36*, fl. 87). Viceroy Count of Linhares, writing to the King in 1635, informs him that there was friendship between Goa and Adil Shah. The king of Golconda, at this time, had already declared himself vassal to the Mughal (*B.34*, fl. 39).

The Great Mughal, although not a friendly neighbour, cannot be catalogued as an enemy. On the contrary. As it is well known, the Portuguese Jesuits had realized three missions to the Great Mughal in the 16th century, during the reign of Akbar the Great, from 1580 to 1605. At the beginning of our period, 1605, the throne was occupied by Jehangir (1605-27) who would be succeeded by Shah Jahan (1628-58). There are several references to the Mughal in the *Monsoon Books*. The Portuguese had an interesting town at Hugli, generally known to Portuguese authors as *Ugulim*. It was a genuine commercial port enjoying notable autonomy. Owing to some disputes, Hugli was easily surrounded and sacked by troops sent by the

Mughal in 1632. Years later, in 1651, the English would open a factory on the spot (B.37, 17). In spite of this, Portuguese missionaries continued to be well received in Agra.

(f) *Main Portuguese positions in India*

*Diu* was situated at the entrance of the Cambay gulf. Its importance was mainly strategical. It is also mentioned now and then in the *Monsoon Books*. It had ceased to be a 'city', a clear sign of decadence. The Indians did not frequent it any longer (B.24, fl. 23v).

*Damaun* at the entrance of the same Gulf, but on the opposite side, had the Malik as its neighbour. In 1638 Damaun was besieged by Mughal troops. (B.37, fl. 119; B.33, fl. 15).

*Bassein*, also very often mentioned in the *Monsoon Books*. Decadence had also taken the upper hand here as elsewhere. The post no longer needed a captain. As the captains enjoyed the monopoly of the local timber, this would pass to the Royal Treasury in order to be employed in the shipyards (B.53, fl. 53; B.60, fl. 93).

*Thana* was also a Portuguese position, less mentioned (B.26, fl. 203).

*Bombay* is also referred to, but subordinated to Bassein (B.28, fl. 5,290; B.30, fl. 17).

*Chaul*, ceded to the Portuguese by the sultan of Ahmednagar in 1516, is often mentioned in the *Monsoon Books*. Its hospital should be reopened. The fortifications at the fort on the hill should be well looked after (B.20, fl. 11, 97). The King is pleased with the reopening of the hospital (B.21, fl. 21).

*Dhabool*. The Portuguese had a factory here (B.27, fl. 382).

*Cannanore*, Portuguese fortress. Good relations with Adah Raja (B.19, fl. 3v). The Portuguese frequented the neighbouring territory of Mysore.

*Cranganore*. This position was of particular interest on account of the St. Thomas Christians who inhabited the territory and whom the Portuguese missionaries were trying to attract to the Catholic faith. Its college is often mentioned (B.20, fl. 115).

*Quilon*, an old Portuguese position. Less mentioned in the *Monsoon Books*.

Along the East Coast of India there were only two positions of interest—St. Thomas of Mylapur and Tuticorin. Both of them are often mentioned in the collection under survey.

(g) *Friendly kings*: Now a few words regarding some friendly

kings. The ruler of Porkad, for instance, was really friendly to the Portuguese and favoured Christianity (B.27, fl. 146). The Naik of Tanjore was also another friend of the Portuguese (B.27, fl. 67).

In southern Canara, the neighbour-king of Banguel (Bantwal) and Venkatapa Naik of Mangalore maintained between themselves a traditional rivalry. The motive was an old one, as the Banguel king refused to consider himself vassal to Venkatapa Naik and, consequently, to pay him any tribute. The Portuguese were friends to both of them. On account of this, both kings often appealed to the Portuguese to settle their disputes. Both of them sold pepper, and this was a good reason to try every means to befriend both of them (B.24, fl. 183; B.30, fl. 57; B.27, fl. 101; B.1a, fl. 17; B.21, fl. 55).

The Naik of Madura was also a friendly neighbour-king (B.34, fl. 15). The Portuguese bought mainly saltpetre from him (B.37, 115). As for the *Fishery Coast*, it will be referred to in the third section.

The Portuguese had long been used to dealing with the 'Bisnaga' empire, that is Vijayanagar. After the Talikota battle (1565), in which the Deccan sultanates routed the Vijayanagar army, the mighty Hindu empire entered into clear decadence. Notwithstanding this, Goa continued to maintain cordial relations with the several principalities descending from Vijayanagar (B.33, fl. 9; B.34, fl. 59-61; B.37, fl. 15).

In 1610 the Dutch managed to establish a factory at *Pulicat*, not far from Mylapur. The Portuguese were rather anxious about it (B.26, fl. 68,70). Their intention was to expel the Dutch from such a position (B.28, fl.222). *Tranquebar* is often mentioned (B.30, fl. 37). The Danes had no hostile intentions against the Portuguese (B.40, fl. 231, 376). From Tranquebar they had extended their influence northwards, up to Masulipatnam (B.41, fl. 11). The Portuguese king, however, was not feeling so friendly towards the Danes (B.21). Later the rumour spread that Tranquebar had been sold to the Dutch, but it remained with the Danes (B.30, fl. 37; B.55, fl. 41).

(h) *Other interesting matters* : The *Monsoon Books* deal with Portuguese decadence in India. One of the clear signs of this is the frequent complaint on the part of the governors that capable and old officials were generally wanting (B.45, fl. 2k4). 'Fidalgos' could almost not be found for the higher posts (B.47, fl. 38; B.48, fl. 13). Another clear

symptom of this situation was the amount of resignations from posts, offered by those who earlier showed themselves very keen on securing them.

Complaints coming from all quarters are also very common in the collection. Such complaints reached Lisbon and reached Goa. One feels really impressed by their number: against viceroys, against bishops, against civil or military authorities, against the religious, etc.

Documents regarding the Royal Treasury are also very numerous. The kings insisted on different occasions that they would like to have yearly a complete account of both income and expenses. Accordingly, they would also like the income sheet to point out the certain and the uncertain rents duly involved (*B.25*, fl. 286). The main rents were hired or entrusted to those who would offer better terms. The system was acceptable to the Administration, since it did not involve any annoyance. On the contrary: the Administration would receive the whole amount at a time. One fact was clear: the budget was always unbalanced. On account of this, the kings used to ask for a variety of information.

Another set of important documents is composed of many reports, scattered all over the collection, written by the viceroys or governors. Here are precious data not only on all sorts of persons, but also on services, such as justice, economy, administration, religion, fortresses, etc. One single example, *B.24*, fl. 49v: information on bishops; fl. 50: information on religious superiors of the different Orders; fl. 50v: on the captains of Diu, Damaun, Bassein, Caranja, Chaul, Rachol, Salsette, Mormugao, Agoada (Goa), etc.; fl. 53v: Justice officials; fl. 55: on Treasury auditors and accountants; fl. 59v: on fleets and galleons; fl. 61: on high-seas fleets.

These data are given every year; hence their extreme importance as a primary source of history.

Finally, all through the *Monsoon Books* one comes across many judicial or administrative inquiries of all sorts: mismanagement of pepper, of due justice (*B.54*, fl. 81), inquest on the behaviour of some officials (*B.55*, fl. 64). This points perhaps to a general current of suspicion. The governors or viceroys themselves, their term of office completed, were subject to such sort of inquiries. The process was full of potential dangers, for very often the inquirer did not try to find serious offences against one's duties, but went further, into dubious researches. Sometimes the inquiry lasted several years, even

after the death of the person concerned, when his family had to bear all the consequences.

### *Trade*

This period (1605-50) is marked by widespread rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch at first, and later also the British. During this period the Portuguese lost three main posts : in 1622, Ormuz to the English and Persians; in 1632, the Bandel of Hugli to the Mughal troops ; in 1641, Malacca to the Dutch. In spite of this, it was on the sea that such rivalry was most felt. The *Monsoon Books*, therefore, contain numerous references to it.

(a) *Navigation* : First of all, there is a recurrent complaint all along the period, but which had already been observed from the 16th century : It was necessary that ships should depart early, between January-March, for the East. When this was done, the voyages were quite normal. It happened however that such commonsense advice was very seldom complied with. The results were tragic : extra-long trip, the meeting of dead-calm seas, several illnesses on board; shipwrecks, etc. (*B.* 26, fl. 11; *B.* 39, fl. 110; *B.* 45, fl. 23, 35). As for the home-bound ships, they should receive their cargoes up to the end of December, in order to sail by the month of January (*B.* 24, fl. 185).

Another object of remark was the size of the Portuguese 'naus': they were too heavy and too large, with four decks. On account of this, they could not compare with the Dutch or English ships, which were much lighter. In spite of all these considerations, little or nothing was done to alter the situation (*B.* 37, fl. 89; *B.* 47, fl. 92). The excess of cargo and the way it was distributed on board called the attention of some (*B.* 52, fl. 144).

Private navigation was not favoured at first (*B.* 26, fl. 171). This was the main difference between the Portuguese and the European powers. Both the (Dutch) United Provinces and England were trading through private or chartered companies. Portugal, on the contrary, preferred to keep up, at all costs, her official trade monopoly. According to a 1625 order, private navigation was not prohibited, but all engaged in it needed a license. Besides, they could not sell the ships without a permit, and finally they could not dispose of the same ships (*B.* 21, fl. 17, 37, 59). A royal letter commanded that private ships should be well armed (*B.* 23, fl. 107;

*B. 19*, fl. 57). Voyages by land to Portugal were rather common, although subject to special permits. Now and then land couriers would be sent ; the letters they carried would nearly always be written in cipher (*B. 29*, fl. 243).

The Portuguese needed many ships. In 1631, there were 115 ships on service (*B. 29*, fl. 99), and the shipyards of Chaul and Bassein were required to build every year a galleon each (*B. 61* fl. 229, 403). Now and then the expectation of the fleet from the realm was frustrated. News from Europe was always anxiously desired. This happened in 1631 and in 1649 (*B. 29*, fl. 139; *B. 59* fl. 1). Besides the 'enemies from Europe', the Portuguese had to face also the so called 'pepper ships' or ships engaged in pepper smuggling. They used to buy pepper in Southern India and sell it where it was well paid. In this way they were confronting the Portuguese 'monopoly' (*B. 29*, fl. 81; *B. 46*, fl. 51, 53; *B. 52*, fl. 98). After all they were doing what the 'European enemies' were also practising.

(b) *The spices monopoly*: The main spices continue to be pepper and cinnamon, pepper from India and cinnamon from Ceylon. Pepper was bought at different places ; Cochin, as before Quilon, Mangalore, Onur and Barcelore (*B.20*, fl. 191, 281). Owing to want of money, salaries were paid to soldiers in cinnamon in 1653 (*B. 56*, fl. 463). Besides these, saltpetre or nitre occupies an important place. It came mainly from Balagate, Bangalore and Sindh (*B 44*, fl. 124; *B. 26*, fl. 225). Tobacco and pearls are also mentioned (*B 44*, fl. 338; *B. 26*, fl. 228). The Portuguese were also importing copper from Japan (*B. 44*, 23v).

(c) *The East India Trade Company*: The Portuguese tried to follow the example of both the Dutch and English who carried on their interests through private trade companies. Thus in 1629 there appeared the 'Companhia do Comercio da India Oriental', or 'East India Trade Company'. It lasted, however, a few years only, for it ended on the 13th April 1633. Indeed, four years is too short a term to permit any sound judgement. The *Monsoon Books* offer a large number of documents on this foiled attempt (*B. 27*, fl. 507; *B. 28*, fl. 11, 12, 48; *B. 30*, fl. 256v, 258; *B. 36*, fl. 212-216, 226, 234; *B. 37*, fl. 157, 169; *B 38*, fl. 488-500; *B, 52*, fl. 224).

(d) *Rivals*: The Portuguese often mentioned in their documents the 'enemies from Europe', that is the Dutch and the English and

to a certain extent, the Danes. All the three were of course trade competitors.

Before 1640 and even after, the Dutch blockaded the harbour of Goa. Their main object was not only to impede local navigation, but also to enter into a possible understanding with the Goans themselves (*B.* 37, fl. 503, 507; *B.* 48, fl. 11; *B.* 45, fl. 187). Sometimes, however, mutual relations were quite cordial (*B.* 26, fl. 317).

In 1626 the king of England tried to negotiate a peace treaty with Spain ; but negotiations were not successful (*B.* 23, fl. 143). Viceroy Pedro da Silva favoured even the idea of setting up an alliance with Manila, the English and the Danes, in order to wage common war against the Dutch (*B.* 43, fl. 23). Before this, another alliance had been tried, also without success, between the Portuguese, Adil Shah, the Malik and the king of Golconda ; according to this scheme, the Dutch would be debarred from entering into their ports.

Relations between the Portuguese and the English were rather easy. In 1635 there was peace between them. The Portuguese of Goa were rather surprised to receive Captains Weddel and Nathaniel Mountrey. The viceroy Pedro da Silva was pleased to receive them and granted permission to trade in Goa. Later on he learnt that they after all were not on good terms with the president of the English settlement at Surat (*B.* 37, fl. 429). So, even before 1640, the Portuguese in India recognized the need for peace with the English (*B.* 34, fl. 1,5). However, the Portuguese did not accept the idea of the English trading within their sphere of influence. Accordingly, their trade in Kanara was to be hindered (*B.* 55, fl. 31).

(e) *Money* : A continuous and impertinent complaint found in the *Monsoon Books*, from the beginning to the end, is the lack of funds. This of course, gives origin to a series of consequences, all of them of mean and base quality, such as mistrust and suspicion. Payment of salaries and subsidies was nearly always in arrears, no matter who were the persons, such as captains, bishops, clergy, high officials, etc. The need of money went so far as to necessitate the diversion of subsidies previously allotted for the support of seminaries to defence purposes (*B.* 30, fl. 65vv). In March 1626 it was ordered that no new monasteries should be constructed (*B.* 23, fl. 171). In this same year the King acknowledges with pleasure a gift of 2,000 xerafins offered by the Hindus of Goa, grateful for the legislation passed on their native marriages (*B.* 23, fl. 209).

*Social and Religious Aspects*

(a) *Social aspects:* Foreigners are usually looked at with a certain suspicion. A royal letter dated 23rd February 1672 ordered that all foreigners then found in India should be sent to Europe (*B. 24*, fl. 173). One of the reasons adduced was that they were trading, that is, they were intruding into the Portuguese 'monopoly' (*B. 45*, fl. 151; *B. 55*, fl. 121). However, they continued to stay. In *B. 58*, fls. 16, 17, 39, 41, and 42, mention is made of a certain trading company which was being formed in Genoa with the aim of sending ships to the East.

If this was the attitude towards foreigners in general, Jews fared worse. A royal letter of March 1625 recalls that orders had already been given in 1623 to send back to Europe all the 'New Christians' found in India (*B. 21*, fl. 10). The Portuguese called them also 'homens de nação', 'men of nation' (*B. 55*, fl. 299). Knowing that the Cochin ruler had a Portuguese secretary of Jewish ancestry, a certain pressure was exercised on him to send him away and take another one (*B. 28* fl. 90). Before the appointment for any official posts, a punctilious examination was conducted to see whether the candidates were indeed 'old Christians' or not (*B. 24*, fl. 78). On the 2nd February 1627, a new royal order stipulated that all 'new Christians' should be sent to the Kingdom (*B. 24*, fl. 171).

A law was passed in Goa forbidding, under penalty of death, the kidnapping of boys to be sold in the neighbouring countries to Muslims (*B. 19*, fl. 59; *B. 20*, fl. 478). Mention is made of the 'Recolhimento da Casa da Serra' and of Our Lady of Mercy, where there were 304 young girls (*B. 21*, fl. 108). From the beginning of the 16th century onwards, several orphan girls of good families would be sent to India in order to be married. They were welcome in India, because their dowries were indeed attractive : good posts or positions in local administration, captaincies, etc., to be occupied by their future husbands. They were called the 'King's Orphans'. As time went on, however, the 'fidalgos' no longer felt attracted by such inducements. The reason was that such posts would demand qualities of action, of initiative and responsibility. The 'fidalgos' preferred instead dowries in cash. Such was the opinion of the viceroy D. Francisco da Gama, in his letter of the 28th February 1627 (*B. 24*, fl. 46-47). A slave girl won her freedom in Goa because she revealed to Ambrosio de

Freitas, 'procurador-mor dos Contos', several frauds committed by Bartolomeu Soares's wife (*B. 24*, fl. 26).

The Portuguese learnt from the beginning of their presence in India to face the caste system. Their opinions varied with the circumstances. A document, dated 8th February 1650, allows the marriage of Portuguese men to Brahmin and Kshatriya girls. In the same way, Brahmin widows, once baptized, could marry again (*B. 61*, fl. 164). Hindu marriages were the object of different legal measures (*B. 30*, fls. 311, 319-20). Perhaps the following extract, from a letter dated 20th February 1627, will be of some interest because it throws a bit of light on the caste system : 'D. John Meale, grandson of king Adil Shah Meale, who was living here (Goa), is dead. Your Majesty had granted him the captaincy of Negapatnam and the captaincy of Onur, as dowry of his two daughters; afterwards he had also demanded the captaincies of Cannanore and Rachol for other two daughters of his. . . .' The State Council favoured this grant. It only needed the King's approval (*B. 24*, fl. 87). The concession of rewards belonged to the King. He bestowed on the viceroys, however, power to remunerate a certain number of persons (*B. 20*, fls. 469, 472v).

The disorderly behaviour of the 'fidalgos' is several times mentioned (*B. 48*, fl. 26v; *B. 40*, fls. 175, 181). It seems that assaults, challenges, murders, etc. were rather frequent in Goa. In India several measures had to be taken to impose a certain austerity of life. The indiscriminate use of palanquins or covered litters was prohibited now and then (*B. 40*, fl. 169; *B. 49*, fl. 319; *B. 54*, fl. 111; *B. 23*, fl. 49).

All this shows that service in India no longer induced men, as before. Doctors were wanting, as well as engineers (*B. 24*, fl. 82; *B. 21*, fl. 61). No wonder that several men, including the religious, tried now and again to return to Europe, without permission (*B. 20*, fls. 83, 103).

A very important event took place in 1615. By royal order, a strange sale was held in Goa: the chief charges and posts, such as captaincies, fortresses and voyages, were sold to the highest bidder. This measure impaired local administration for many, many years (*B. 38*, fls. 334-45).

A curiosity. Philip III of Portugal wanted an elephant and a female rhinoceros. He had sent orders to East Africa, Persia, Arabia and India, to send him some wild animals, such as elephants

from Ceylon and tigers from Cochin. The great difficulty was how to ship them to Europe, how to feed them. Years later he wrote again, since he wanted such wild animals and rare birds as 'an ornament of my court' (*B. 28*, fl. 14 ; *B. 30*, fl. 261 ; *B. 31*, fl. 153).

And now, a disaster occurred in Goa on 18th October 1626, at the convent of St. Francis. Lightning struck the convent and blew up the house where gunpowder was kept. Indeed gunpowder was entrusted to male religious houses, situated along the river. In this way, it was easily transported into the ships which would come alongside. On account of the disaster, the neighbouring convent of St. Bonventure would refuse to keep gunpowder any longer (*B. 24*, fl. 77).

And finally, a reference to the well known Portuguese historian Diogo de Couto. He was the Chief Keeper of the 'Torre do Tombo' in India and died here in 1616. His replacement took place, however, much later. We have two documents regarding this matter : the royal letter from the 1st April 1627 ordered that the history of India, by Couto, should be continued, and that a suitable person should be picked up for that purpose. The viceroy D. Francisco da Gama had suggested the name of a certain Nicolau da Silva. This proposal, however, was not accepted by the King. It is interesting to observe that the same viceroy, in his letter of 20th January 1627, had informed that he had already appointed a new 'Chief-Keeper' in the person of Bartolomeu Galvão (*B. 24*, fls. 88, 149).

(*b*) *Religious aspects*: Christianity, conversions, religious personnel, etc., certainly occupy a large portion of documents in the collection under survey. It is a recurrent topic in the correspondence both on the part of the Portuguese kings and on the part of governors or viceroys. The kings insisted time and again on the need of evangelization. Christians were to be favoured and protected. The viceroys never forgot such a matter in their annual reports. This is quite natural, for during our period (1605-50) and for many years later, the 'service of God' preceded the 'king's service'. The local Christianity of St. Thomas was also referred to very often (*B. 25*, fl. 65; *B. 29*, fl. 169). The Christians of St. John are also mentioned. It appears that they were mainly of Armenian origin (*B. 32*, fl. 51; *B. 33*, fl. 51; *B. 39*, fl. 37).

The first religious to come to India were the Franciscans. The Jesuits, led by St. Francis Xavier, arrived in 1542. The Dominicans established themselves in Goa in 1548, but long before a few of

their companions had accompanied Afonso de Albuquerque, as naval chaplains. In 1572 it was the turn of the Augustinians. The Discalced Carmelites came in 1607, not directly from Europe, but through Persia and Ormuz. At first they were well received, but later on, after the change of dynasty, it was decided to send them back to Europe (*B. 56*, fl. 213v). Finally the Theatines reached Goa in 1639. After 1640, the Roman Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith sent different missionaries to India. As Castille and the Holy See did not recognize Portuguese independence, the Portuguese kings, on their part, ordained that no bishops or missionaries sent by the Propaganda should be accepted in Portuguese missions (*B. 61*, fl. 147).

The Jesuits maintained a prosperous and progressive mission on the Fishery Coast. A certain disagreement between the bishop of Cochin and the Jesuits brought about some confusion. In the end, the Jesuits took possession again of their missions (*B. 21*, fl. 51; *B. 39*, fls. 55, 77). At Tuticorin was stationed a Portuguese captain whose main duty was to protect the Christians against Muslim traders and soldiers. His relations with the Jesuits were not always very cordial. The Jesuits were openly favoured by the Naik of Madura.

The different Religious Orders did not observe constant charity in their mutual relations. Keen rivalry often set in between their respective fields of action. The Franciscans, working at Bardez, were accused of not knowing the local language (*B. 25*, fl. 68). The Jesuits were mainly taking care of Salcete. It happened also that the soldiers arriving in Goa or elsewhere, were often enticed to abandon the military life and to join the religious one. Franciscans and Discalced Carmelites were particularly criticised for this (*B. 30*, fl. 43, 255; *B. 36*, fl. 433; *B. 37*, fl. 365; *B. 40*, fl. 110; *B. 47*, fl. 68). Finally a royal order stipulated that no Religious Order whatsoever could accept any soldiers.

The religious were in fact too many (*B. 32*, fls. 158-9, 228). On 3rd January 1636 an important meeting took place in Goa, attended by all the superiors of the different Religious Orders, in which two main questions were duly discussed. The first regarded the number of members to be admitted in each convent; the second one dealt with the rents and income of the religious. Jesuits, Dominicans and Augustinians and the nuns of St. Monica were specially mentioned (*B. 35*, fls. k62-189).

The Augustinians registered a serious mutiny which took place

in their monastery. Some of the friars revolted against their lawful superior, who was so shocked that he died a little later (*B. 41*, fl. 41, 53). The Augustinian feminine monastery of St. Monica, founded by archbishop D. Aleixo de Menezes (1606-27), is also often mentioned in the collection (*B. 26*, fl. 37 ; *B. 25*, fl. 176). At first the monastery could accommodate 100 nuns. It appears, however, that the number had been exceeded (*B. 48*, fl. 326). The governors never forgot to express their opinion on all the religious communities, as well as on the missionaries, bishops, etc.

To conclude this synthesis, two social facts rather linked to religion deserve mention. Sin is indeed very often a social fact. The Portuguese felt particular aversion for sexual scandals sometimes observed during the voyages to and from India. Of course, all sins are bad, but sodomy was to them so dirty and abominable that it was often punished with death. It was called 'pecado de ruim qualidade', 'sin of dirty quality' or, it had no name, could not be even mentioned, 'pecado nefando'. In the *Monsoon Books*, mention is made of the existing legislation against those guilty of it (*B. 27*, fl. 421; *B. 37*, fl. 295; *B. 46*, fl. 67; *B. 52*, fl. 78; *B. 55*, fl. 252).

In 1626 in Goa, a man accused of sodomy was handed over to the Inquisition. This court, however, sent him away, as the case did not fall under its jurisdiction. Later on, the same accused was judged in the ordinary court of justice (*B. 23*, fl. 409).

The second social fact deals with a renegade. From the beginning of the Portuguese presence in India, several men, overcome by the lure of the East, escaped to the neighbouring territories, apostatized, often embraced Islam and earned their livelihood by different tasks. In Portuguese Eastern history there are several and interesting examples related to the 'renegades'. During the government of D. Francisco da Gama (1622-28) it happened that a certain Portuguese renegade was living at the court of Adil Shah. Being a skilful artillery foundryman, he offered to cast any kind of gun, and in order to show his masterliness, he offered to Adil Shah a large cannon, cast by himself. The Shah was pleased with such a gesture, and employed him. Knowing this, the viceroy decided that it was necessary to stop such anti-Portuguese activity, and that he deserved a death sentence. A certain Francisco Henriques de Sousa, born at Santarem, readied himself to carry out such a task, as he was living also at Adil Shah's court. After doing what he might have thought to be his duty towards his king, he took refuge in Goa.

## 5

# Indian History in the Cartorio dos Jesuitas

*John Correia-Afonso*

### I

THE REALIZATION OF THE VALUE of Portuguese records on Indian history is not of recent date, and almost a century has passed since F. C. Danvers published his *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East contained in the Archivo de Torre do Tombo, and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora*.<sup>1</sup> However the emphasis in those days was rather on political and dynastic history. It is the current interest in social and economic history that gives a new and added value to the old documentation, which — unlike the chronicles partly based on it — contains a wealth of socio-economic data.

It is now commonly agreed that a serious and satisfactory history of Portuguese colonial expansion cannot be written until very many more of the original sources and documents in Portuguese archives are published and made more generally available.<sup>2</sup> This is no easy task, given the number and richness of the Portuguese archives, on the one hand, and on the other, their poor organization and inadequate catalogues. Just to assess the work to be done, and in Lisbon alone, is a superhuman undertaking.

Pride of place among the Lisbon repositories belongs to the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Originally a record office of Crown properties held in the tower of the Castle of St. George, the archives, still keeping the old name, were transferred after the 1755 earthquake to 'temporary' premises in the palace of S. Bento — and they are there to this day ! The Torre do Tombo is among the best-stocked archives in the world and suffers from an embarrassment of riches, and the poor facilities are not quite compensated by the goodwill of the staff. The Torre is replete with

material concerning India, but this is scattered in various sections. Each investigator who comes along looks up documents which interest him and about whose existence he already has a clue, hence there is duplication of work in some sections, while other valuable collections remain unexplored.

Among those which deserve more attention are the Jesuit documents seized by the government after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal in 1759. 'The Society of Jesus,' writes Antonio Baião, 'extinguished during Pombal's regime, is represented not only by the Armário Jesuitico [Jesuit Cupboard] whose most interesting collection refers to the controversy in the 17th century between the Jesuits and the Inquisition, but also by some hundred bundles of deeds chiefly of fiscal interest'.<sup>3</sup> We record regretfully what J. M. da Silva Marques has to say of the catalogue of these documents : 'A very rudimentary and neglectful inventory. Suffice it to say that of the greater part of its summaries there is no date nor reference number so that investigation becomes slow and difficult; add to this that many of the documents have long been removed from their places. The summarization is too concise, and erroneous at times'.<sup>4</sup> What is the nature of the collection ?

The official letters of the Jesuit missionaries converged towards their principal administrative centres Goa, Lisbon and Rome. Lisbon was the point of departure and of return for the Indian sea journey, the residence of the Portuguese Provincial, and the training ground for many of the future missionaries of India. Consequently to Lisbon and to Coimbra and Evora, where important colleges of the Society existed, were forwarded a large number of Jesuit letters, which were at times copied in big folio volumes after some editing, for reading at table during meals.<sup>5</sup>

The persecution of the Jesuits during the regime of the Marquis of Pombal meant the end of the flourishing Jesuit colleges and residences in Portuguese territory, and the destruction or spoliation of much that was greatly valued by their inmates. Thus the *Cartas da India* of the College of Coimbra, together with hundreds of packets of other documents, were seized and transferred to other places; the codex *Cartas da India* is now in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon. A like fate befell the archives of other Jesuit houses in Portugal, whose contents are now scattered in a number of public repositories. Among the houses to suffer thus was the College of S. Antão, in Lisbon.

S. Antão was founded in 1553, and was thus one of the earliest educational institutions of the Society of Jesus. At the start some people wished that it should cater exclusively to the sons of noble or distinguished families leaving out those from humbler homes. But it was precisely the latter who were meant to benefit from the free education which the Jesuits proposed to give. 'And in order that this should be possible, the foundation of a college could only be realized when someone endowed it with sufficient income for the maintenance of teachers and the rest of the staff necessary for its operation. From this there came to the Jesuits numerous properties and other sources of income, which when seen all together could give the appearance of wealth; in reality, however, and by wish of the very donors, they exercised a social function of the highest order, which was to maintain secondary education throughout the country, without cost either to the state or to the families'.<sup>6</sup>

In the light of the above it is not difficult to understand why the archives of Jesuit colleges like S. Antão should contain a great number of papers relating to legacies, grants, and other economic matters. Many of these were of the greatest importance, and had to be carefully preserved for the future, side by side with those 'edifying and curious letters' which formed another notable part of the Jesuit archives.

## II

The Cartório dos Jesuitas (we shall not concern ourselves with the Armário Jesuitico) consists of 106 bundles of documents, packed in neat cases  $17\frac{1}{2} \times 47 \times 32$  cms. The number of documents varies with each bundle, and they are arranged in no discernible order. As a matter of fact there are documents and sets of documentation that have been split into parts, one to be found in one bundle, a second in another—as for example is the case with the important documentation concerning the fall of Bassein in 1739. The documents for the most part are in a fair state of preservation, a few are crumbling into pieces, and in some the ink has gone right through the paper (at times written on both sides) so that they are indecipherable. They are generally loose sheets, but some papers have been bound together. A great advantage is that most of the documents — at least those concerning India — are in

modern script and language, so that the assistance of a palaeographer is only occasionally necessary. Each document is numbered on the back of the last page of the text, e.g. 'Jesuitas — M<sup>o</sup> 82, No 73' — at times with a title or a brief description of its contents.

It has already been mentioned that the documents are in great part of a fiscal nature. As Sarafim Leite has remarked, 'In the the Portuguese Archives, especially the Torre do Tombo, are preserved more particularly the documents which refer to goods and economic affairs, either because in the Society too these were kept with greater care, or because at the time of persecution more attention was paid to these in making the inventories.'<sup>7</sup> Many of the items are certified copies of grants made to the Society in times past, or copies of correspondence with religious or civil authorities. At times there are two copies of the same letter, sent by different routes (*vias*). Little account sheets may be found side by side with important legal deeds.

Among the most valuable materials are the royal decrees granting certain privileges to the Jesuits, in order to assist them in their apostolic work. Thus we have in Maço 4 a rescript of King Sebastian's order 'that the Fathers of the Society's College of S. Antão should have in the India House 50 reis of each quintal of pepper and 100 reis of each quintal of other *drogas* [spices, medicinal plants, etc.] forever.' This is solemnly confirmed in another original deed of King Philip (1581). The bundle has many other papers concerning this same matter, including judicial decisions and accounts of amounts paid and due to the College. Another document on this subject is to be found elsewhere (Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 39, No. 29—CJ 39/29).

The story of this levy on the pepper imports is an interesting one.<sup>8</sup> Late in 1569 a suggestion was made to King Sebastian and his uncle Cardinal Henry (later King) that the Crown should endow the College of S. Antão with a share of the duties paid on Indian spices. The Jesuits were hesitant to accept such a type of revenue, because it was uncertain and troublesome to collect, while it would also render them odious to the merchants, and cause envy among the nobility. As one of them wrote to the Father General in Rome, 'Though the tax may be for the support of many, yet Your Paternity believe me, all the people will stone us!' However, money was surely needed if free education was to be provided to the young men at S. Antão, and such a chance might not come

again. So they tried to ensure that the collection should not be their own responsibility, and that the grant should be in perpetuity, and so by an *alvará* of 10 January 1574 King Sebastian made them the grant mentioned above, obliging them in return to conduct Latin classes, an Arts class, and Mathematics or 'Lesson of the Globe', 'very necessary' for those sailing to India or elsewhere. The annual revenue from this source was estimated at 3,000 cruzados.

Another interesting royal grant is contained in a letter of the Dowager Queen Catherine of Portugal to the Viceroy in Goa, 5 March 1561, asking him to hand over to the Jesuit College of St. Paul the earrings and jewellery received in India from noble persons and which were to have been sent on to her (CJ 86/60).

Besides the royal grants to the Jesuits, there are also wills and deeds of private individuals. Here an important place is occupied by Fernando Martins Mascarenhas, a nobleman who was Governor of India from 12 December 1690 to 19 November 1691, and died some time after 1707. He was also known as Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre, and was a good friend of the Jesuits (CJ 25/37).

The Cartório also contains originals and copies of many official decrees concerning persons directly or indirectly connected with the Jesuits. For instance, Maço 27 includes letters patent issued in favour of the above D. Fernando and his wife D. Joanna. These deal with the grant of offices, land, and trading privileges, and reveal the nature of Portuguese colonial administration (cf. also CJ 36/97, 39/16). They obviously found their way to the Jesuit archives together with the other papers of their original beneficiaries.

Financial affairs of the Jesuits find an important place in some bundles, such as no. 82, which includes list of donations and endowments made to the College of S. Antão, bills of lading of goods to and from India, accounts of rent, etc. Here we may quote a contemporary economic historian from Portugal who says: 'At a time when accounting was no more than a vague and ill-defined thing in Portugal, already the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had structured an organization which makes evident how indispensable for good financial management and the good administration of their revenues and goods they considered to be the keeping of books, clear and as perfectly written up as possible'.<sup>9</sup> When Pombal'

men took over the Jesuit properties, they were instructed to follow the model already established by the Jesuits for their account.

The Cartório also holds a lot of material relating to particular areas of Jesuit work, and what we might call local history. Thus Maço 90 is full of papers about the Salcete (Goa) villages given to the Society, concerning which there is a dispute between the Cochin Jesuit College and the Goa Jesuit Novitiate. Here too are papers referring to the land held in Bardez on behalf of the Madura and China Missions, the tax exemption for the inhabitants of Bandra, the parishes of the Fishery Coast, and the assignment of temple revenues in Goa. An important document concerning these revenues and the College of St. Paul is to be found in another bundle (CJ 83/71).

Of greater interest perhaps are the papers relating to Bassein and Bombay. The material about the Jesuits in Bassein and their properties is rich (cf., e.g., CJ 27/10, 11, 12, 27), and there is valuable information about the last years of Portuguese rule in that city, which has already been studied by the present writer elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> Here it will be enough to mention Fr. Manoel Barretto's 'Information about the administrations of Chaul, Bassein, Damaun, Diu, for the Fr. Procurator of India to inform His Majesty and his principal ministers', dated 5 January 1666 (CJ 80/1), and the affidavits about the role played by the Jesuits in the last days of the city prior to its fall in 1739 (CJ 82/72-75, 83/76-83). As for Bombay, there is a copy of the contract made 'between the peoples of this island [of Bombay] and the Honourable Company', dated 26 November 1672 (CJ 89/15), as well as of letters exchanged in 1694 between the Jesuits and the English Governor of Bombay concerning the restoration of the properties confiscated from them (CJ 88/188, 90/73.)

The Royal Hospital of Goa was one of those institutions which aroused the admiration of foreign visitors, who describe its wondrous efficiency. It was entrusted to the Jesuits, and its Brother Apothecary (*boticario*) was a person of importance, running a well-supplied pharmacy. The Cartório contains various rescripts in favour of this pharmacy (CJ 83/85-88) and petitions made on its behalf (CJ 90/61-62). There is also a representation made by the Assistant Apothecary of the College of St. Paul, complaining that 'cordial stones' (*pedras cordiais*) invented by Brother Gaspar Antonio, S.J., and given his name, were being faked by others, and

requesting that the ban already placed on such imitations should be renewed (CJ 83/68).

Other interesting documents that might be mentioned to conclude this rapid survey are a 1618 certificate from the local inhabitants (*gancares*) to say that the Jesuit Fathers working as Vicars in Salcete all knew the local language (CJ 90/108) and an elegantly composed and beautifully written Latin document 'vera morbi historia a qua poterit unusquisque intelligere qua morte occubuit Exmus D. Franciscus Joseph de Sampayo a Castro Pro Rex Lusitaniae in hac India Orientali' (CJ 86/102). This is in fact a clinical report to prove that the unfortunate Viceroy died of a surfeit of pineapple ! It is dated 13 July 1723, and signed by Dr. Paulo Stirlinio, and has an endorsement of 3 April 1726 in which another medical man, Didacus Cardozo Coutinho, confirms Stirlinio's verdict on the basis of his own experience in Brazil about the pineapple.

### III

The foregoing brief general survey gives an idea of the riches of the Cartório dos Jesuitas, from the Indian standpoint. It seemed a good idea to offer here a summary guide to the same, i.e. a tentative handlist of the documents of Indian interest in the Cartório dos Jesuitas. What follows has been compiled with the help of a guide to 'Indian' material in the Lisbon archives prepared by Dr. A. da Silva Rego and his collaborators, which through his kindness I was able to use before its publication. The guide merely lists the number of the documents without any note about their contents, and so is of limited utility. What is more, it is not quite complete, as my own investigations showed. And these too were not sufficiently deep, so that what follows is just a sketchy catalogue, a first attempt towards a complete guide. (Documents of special interest are asterisked.)

#### *Maço 4*

Docs. 1\*, 6, 7, 13\*, 14\*, 15-37 all refer to the royal grant of the duty on Indian pepper, originally made by King Sebastian and confirmed by King Philip (1591). Specially interesting are the royal rescripts (1, 14), and a judicial decision in favour of the College of S. Antão in 1635 (13).

*Maço 25*

Doc. 37 is a deed of D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre in favour of the Society of Jesus (1690).

*Maço 26*

Docs. 2, 42 and 43 all refer to D. Fernando.

*Maço 27*

Doc. 2 is a decree granting certain privileges in Goa to Da. Ursula da Cunha (1673). Docs. 3-10 are various letters patent in favour of D. Fernando. Doc. 10 is a decree in favour of his wife, Da. Joanna Maria, granting her lands, including a property near Bassein. Docs. 11, 12 and 27 refer to the same question.

*Maço 36*

Doc. 95\* is an important report on events in India during 1616 by Fr. Manoel Barradas, S.J., from Cochin, 12 December 1616. Doc. 96 is an account of a discussion between the Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Malacca concerning the Jesuits (1731). Doc. 97 is a decree concerning the Damaun factory, and Doc. 99\* is an affidavit of the councilmen of Chaul concerning the defence of that city (1595).

*Maço 39*

Doc. 16 is a royal decree conferring the captaincy of Diu on D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas (1683). Doc. 29 is a copy (1647) of King Philip's grant of the pepper duty to the College of S. Antão.

*Maço 40*

Doc. 7 is a judicial decision (Goa, 1642) exempting the College of St. Paul from paying tithes. Docs. 73 and 74 are ecclesiastical rescripts the first concerning the election of Jesuit priests to certain church offices, and the second about their power of dispensing from certain marriage impediments.

*Maço 51*

Doc. 63 is a certificate issued in favour of the Procurator of the Cochin Jesuit Province concerning the rights on pepper (1690).

*Maço 64*

Doc. 71 is a judicial decision in favour of the Procurator of the Professed House of Bom Jesus in Goa (1751).

*Maço 68*

Doc. 202 is a letter from Goa concerning some appointments.

*Maço 80*

Doc. 1\* is Fr. Manoel Barretto's important report, mentioned earlier. This is surely one of the most valuable papers in the *Cartório dos Jesuitas*, both by reason of its contents and of its authorship.

*Maço 82*

Doc. 1 is a register of decrees and deeds in favour of the College of S. Antão, connected with the benefactions of the Countess of Linhares. Docs. 3, 4, 5, refer to consignments of cloth (1756-57) and Docs. 46 and 47 to consignments of wine for India (1580-81). Doc. 55\* is a little collection of papers referring to the administration of Bassein (1734). Doc. 56 provides a subsidy for seven missionaries of the Archbishop of Cranganore. Docs. 59, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70 and 71 are all concerned with the donation and ownership of lands, chiefly in Salcete (Goa), Bassein, at times in favour of the Jesuits in South India. Doc. 72-75\* are affidavits concerning the conduct of the Jesuits at the time of the fall of Bassein (1739). Docs. 76 and 77 record some financial transactions.

*Maço 83*

Docs. 7, 8 and 10 refer to properties of the Cochin Jesuit College. Docs. 37-41 and 44-46 also refer to donations and subsidies to various Jesuit colleges in India; perhaps the most interesting is no. 39 (1714) confirming the grant of temple revenues to the College of St. Paul (1584). Docs. 47, 48 and 50 provide support for various Jesuit works in South India. Docs. 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60 and 61 are again concerned with land grants and claims, principally on behalf of the Cochin College. Doc. 62 is a decree exempting Christian converts from the jurisdiction of the local judges in S. Thome of Mylapore (1649). Docs. 65 and 66\* are records pertaining to the Jesuits in Bassein and Bandra, and the latter includes a copy of the official act of transfer of Bombay to the English. Doc.

68 concerns the cordial stones, and has been mentioned before. Docs. 69\* and 70\* deal with the Jesuits and Bombay. Docs. 71-73 refer to matters of properties of Jesuit institutions. Docs. 76-83\* are again affidavits vindicating the conduct of the Jesuits at the time of the loss of Bassein. Docs. 85-89 record the privileges granted to the pharmacy of the Royal Hospital in Goa (1742-1743). Docs. 89-93 are claims on Pedro da Sylva Alva for the repayment of money lent to him (1745-1751). Doc. 94 is a claim of the Royal Hospital of Goa for goods lost at sea. Doc. 97 is a confirmation of a land purchase by the Goa Misericordia (1707). Doc. 98 deals with the money granted to Bishop Luis Cerqueira for the purchase of books for study (1622). Doc. 174 treats of land in Alemquer belonging to the Malabar Province (1680). Docs 182-84 and 187 refer to some financial and legal matters.

*Maço 86*

Docs. 2, 3 and 4 refer to properties of the Cochin College. Doc. 32 deals with grievances of the local Christians of Salcete and Bardez. Doc. 37 is about some rights of the Cochin College, and Doc. 50 about land of the Rachol College. Doc. 51 confirms some privileges of the people of Manar. Doc. 60 is the letter of Queen Catherine in favour of the College of St. Paul, mentioned earlier. Doc. 61 is a royal order (1609) to the effect that Jesuits are not exempt from the authority of local bishops in the cure of souls. Docs. 62 and 64 grant royal subsidies for Jesuit works. Doc. 67 confirms (1613) the grant of Mahim and Bandra to the College of St. Paul in Goa. Doc. 68 is about a subsidy for the Quilon Jesuits. Doc. 69\* is an interesting concession made to the Jesuits of nominating persons who would be granted the right of making two commercial voyages to Mozambique (1619); Doc. 73 (1621) is similar. Doc. 71 concedes the Malabar Province the right to buy the village of Comprém in Salcete. Doc. 75 assigns court fees for the support of catechumens (1571). Docs. 81-82 and 88 concern the royal protection of the Madurai Mission. Docs. 84 and 85 are grants in favour of two Jesuit bishops. Doc. 87\* is a permission for the Jesuit Procurator of Japan to use money acquired from the forced sale of properties in Bombay, because of the English, for the purchase of new lands (1689); Doc. 89 is a duplicate of the same. Doc. 91 is about the payment of dues from Salcete lands to the Procurator of Japan. Doc. 93\* is a royal decree transferring Hindu temples in Salcete

into the hands of the Church (1579). Doc. 94 refers to income due to the Bishop of Japan from the village of Benaulim (Goa). Doc. 99 is a collection of copies of letters of St. Ignatius of Loyala to various Jesuits in Portugal and in the East. Docs. 100 and 101 are other collections of Ignatian letters. Doc. 102\* is the very curious medical report on the death of the Viceroy D. Francisco José de Sampayo, to which reference has already been made. Doc. 122 gathers copies of various papers concerning the appointment of the 'Father of the Christians' (1617). Doc. 125 treats of help to be given to the Christians of Manar, as does also Doc. 134. Doc. 128 is a certificate of the Count of Villaverde for D. Vasco Coutinho (1697). Doc. 142\* is the proceedings of the 6th Provincial Congregation of the Malabar Province. Doc. 156 concerns the lands of the College of St. Paul. Doc. 157\* confirms the monopoly of the 'cordial stones' of the pharmacy of St. Paul's. Doc. 160 is about a payment to the Bishop of Japan. Doc. 170 is a decree in favour of the Quilon College.

#### *Maço 87*

Doc. 4 comprises copies of several papers about the ownership of the *cassabé* of Caranja by the Cochin College (1633). Docs. 13-16 are various legal opinions (1646-7) on the controversy between the Cochin College and the Goa Novitiate, both of the Society of Jesus, about the ownership of the villages of Assolna, Velim and Ambolim. Doc. 18 is another set of juridical views, this time concerning the Island of Rachol. Doc. 41 deals with Jesuit work on the Fishery Coast. Doc. 48 is a decree granting the Province of Japan the right to acquire a certain property (1686).

#### *Maço 88*

(This is the bundle that contains the greatest quantity of material concerning India, but not of special value.)

Docs. 121-9 and 134 all refer to the above-mentioned dispute between the Cochin College and the Goa Novitiate, with some duplication. Doc. 133 affirms the right of the Provincial of Goa to share in the salt tax of Setubal in Portugal (1721). Docs. 135-139 and 159-161 contain copies of letters of St. Ignatius. Doc. 162 is about the title of the Jesuits to various Salcete churches. Doc. 163 is a claim of the Jesuits for the annual amount due to them in place of the presents received by the Portuguese authorities from

Indian princes (1592). Doc. 164 is a copy of a royal letter about the revenues of religious. Docs. 165-167 deal with matters of Angamale, Cochin and Cranganore. Doc. 169 is about the College of Rachol. Docs. 170-171 concern the Christians of Manar. Doc. 172\* is a copy of a letter of Fr. M. Barretto about the payment due to the Governor of Bombay (1666). Doc. 173\* is part of the copy of the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Jesuit Provincial about affairs in Bassein in 1734 (cf. CJ 89/16). Doc. 174 is a list of the revenues of the Provinces of India presented to the King in 1666. Docs. 175-76 treat of matters of the College of St. Paul. Doc. 177 studies the contract between the Jesuits and Governor Fernão Telles de Menezes about presents received. Docs. 180-181 are copies of a declaration of the Procurator of the Cochin Province. Doc. 182 treats of the revenues of the Cochin College. Doc. 183 is a report about the Christians of Manar. Doc. 187 is a memorandum of Fr. Alvaro Pires de Tavora about Bombay. Doc. 188\* is the Jesuit reply to the English Governor of Bombay refusing to restore confiscated Jesuit properties (1614). Doc. 190 is a list of official papers being sent to Portugal. Doc. 191 is about some Salcete churches (1619). Docs. 192-193 deal with revenues from Bandra and Salcete. Doc. 194 is a petition on behalf of the Cochin College. Docs. 195-205 are chiefly papers of Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo Monteiro about the village of Malara (Bassein) belonging to the Macau College. Doc. 206 is a memorial of the Provincial of the Southern Province to Antonio Paes de Sande.

*Maço 89*

Doc. 15\* is a copy of the contract made 'between the peoples of this island (of Bombay) and the Honourable Company' (1672). Doc. 16 is a copy of the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Jesuit Provincial concerning Bassein affairs in 1734 (cf. CJ 88/173). Docs. 16-23 are deeds and reports, some in duplicate, concerning the donation of the villages of Assolna, Ambelim and Velim to the Society of Jesus.

*Maço 90*

Doc. 57 is about the Salcete villages. Doc. 58 is an order of payment for the Jesuit Procurator General of India. Docs. 61-2 are petitions of the apothecary of the Royal Hospital of Goa. Doc. 66 concerns the acquisition of the Betim palm-grove for the Madurai Mission.

Doc. 73\* is a letter of the English Governor to the Jesuits concerning their Bombay properties (cf. CJ 88/188 for reply). Docs. 76-77 are petitions of the Jesuit Procurator General. Doc. 80 is a memorandum of the latter to the Provincial about an account at the College of Braga. Doc. 82 contains more about the Malara village dispute (cf. CJ 88/195-205). Doc. 102 is a rescript regarding the properties in Bardez of the China Province (1738). Doc. 106 is again about the Salcete villages. Doc. 107 is a record of court decisions about the villages bought in India by the Ceylon Jesuits. Doc. 108 is once more about the Salcete villages and Bombay. Doc. 109 about the language proficiency of the Jesuits in Salcete. Doc. 112 is a rescript about the tax exemption of the inhabitants of Bandra, Corlem and Mouly. Doc. 113 contains more views on the dispute between the Cochin College and the Goa Novitiate about the Salcete villages. Doc. 115 is information about the Assolna revenues. Doc. 116\* is the draft for a royal decree on temple revenues. Doc. 117 once again treats of the claims of the Cochin College. Doc. 118\* presents the claims of the Goa Jesuits against the confiscation of their goods in Bombay by the English. Doc. 119 is about the inhabitants of the Fishery Coast (1568). Doc. 121 is a claim of the Goa Province concerning some diamonds. Doc. 122 is a list of things ordered for China (1734). Doc. 123 relates the endowment of the Cochin College. Doc. 124 is a statement of claims against Fr. Joseph de Britto. Doc. 127 is a decree in favour of the people of Manar (1643). Doc. 129 is a petition of the Christians of Madre-de-Deus, near S. Thomé. Doc. 130 sets down the Jesuit complaints against the Viceroy Filipe de Mascarenhas. Doc. 138 is a rescript concerning money owed to the Society.

#### IV

More than a score of years have passed since the present writer in his *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* endeavoured to establish the value of Jesuit documentation for Indian historiography. In the final chapter of that work he suggested some lines of action, which, regretfully, have remained but a pious desire. Here it will suffice to recall those suggestions, with special reference to the Cartório dos Jesuitas.

It will be necessary in the first place to take careful stock, more

precisely than has been done in this paper, of the documentation in the Cartório, as well as in the Armário Jesuitico, and possibly other sections of the Torre do Tombo. To take in all other Portuguese archives is a gigantic task, and it may be better left aside for the moment, since the best can be the enemy of the good.

The cataloguing of the documents should be followed by a detailed study of their contents—their nature, territorial range, themes—and of their authorship too. The resulting report would be of great help to historical research. The collaboration of the Jesuit Institute of History in Rome would be of immense value for this project, and the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture could play a major role in its execution.

Finally, documents of special value—such as those relating to the pepper trade and the Jesuit role in the administration of Portuguese forts—should be made available in translations for Indian students of history. The Indian Council of Historical Research, which is interested in the publication of source material, would surely help in this regard.

The Jesuit documents, as was made clear in *Jesuit Letters and Indian History*, are but auxiliary sources in the writing of a general history. The contribution they can make to such a history may be small, but it is not negligible, and it must be duly esteemed and utilized.

## NOTES

1. London, 1892.
2. Cf. C. R. Boxer, 'Some Considerations on Portuguese Colonial Historiography', in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies*, (Nashville 1953) pp. 169-80.
3. Antonio Baião, *O Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, (Lisbon 1929) p. 22.
4. João Martins da Silva Marques, *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, I—Index Indicium*, (Lisbon 1935) p. 98.
5. For further information on this subject, please refer to the author's *Jesuit Letters and Indian History*, (2nd ed., Bombay 1969).
6. Joel Serrão ed., *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, (Lisbon 1965) s.v. 'Jesuitas'.
7. Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Brazil*, I, (Lisbon 1938) p. xxii
8. Cf. Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistencia de Portugal*, II/I, (Oporto 1938) pp 216-18.
9. Luis de Bivar Guerra, 'Administração e Constabilidade dos Colegios da Companhia de Jesus, nos séculos XVII e XVIII', in *Revista do Centro de Estudos Economicos*, No. 13, (Lisbon 1953) p. 168.
10. John Correia-Afonso, 'The Jesuits and the Fall of Bassein', in *Indica*, 15 (Bombay 1978) pp. 107-20.

## Portuguese Documents on Sixteenth Century India

*Geneviève Bouchon*

UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, Lusitanian documents had only been used for the glorification of the nautical and military exploits of the Portuguese, or for the criticism of their political conduct and their desire for wealth. One forgets too easily that a great many of those who came to India as captains, factors or missionaries were fascinated by the new world which they had discovered. They have left behind them letters, travel and diplomatic accounts, descriptions of everyday life which bear witness to their desire to familiarize themselves with the political, economic and social structures of the country where they were destined, in some cases, to spend the rest of their lives.

In making these observations, their authors only sought to outline the activities of the Portuguese in Asia. None of them could have guessed that time would destroy most of the historical archives of India and that their writings, which have fortunately been preserved, would be among the only written documents to bear witness to the 16th century. In this tropical climate, the *olas* were irretrievably damaged, although certain manuscripts were re-written over the centuries, by clerks who embellished the basic historical facts with legends. However, time has left us more reliable documents in the form of archaeological remains and inscriptions.

In the Middle Ages, the history of Southern India was recorded by the chroniclers of the Sultans of Delhi and of the Deccan who were engaged in the Afghan, the Bahmani and the first Moghul conquests. The light which their writings threw upon the North also shone dimly upon the kingdoms of the Peninsula, but left most of Dravidian India in the dark. In the early 16th century, a different light came from the western Indian Ocean. Like a spotlight directed suddenly upon the kingdoms of Malabar and

the spice ports, this beam spread as far as Ceylon, Malacca and the Indonesian archipelago, touched Gujarat and penetrated to the heart of the Vijayanagar Empire. It is this new complementary vision which the Portuguese give us of the Indian world.

We now know and indeed we have known for some time the important contribution made by Dutch, French and particularly British sources to the History of India, upon which so many valuable works are based. However, these sources only date from the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century. Why then has Portuguese manuscript documentation only rarely been used for the preceding period? Possibly it is due to the virtual isolation of Portugal resulting from the internal situation in the past. These sources, mainly kept in the Archives of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, have been little used, despite the remarkable work of deciphering and publishing carried out by Portuguese archivists and scholars. For the historians of Asia, the time has come to take notice of these documents, to use them in conjunction with other sources of Indian history, to take account of what is already known and to open up new horizons.

Of what value is Portuguese historiography? This is the first question we must look at. I shall attempt to define its essential features.

The Portuguese were not simply travellers passing from one country to the next. Many stayed in the Orient for several years at a stretch, some for a whole lifetime. Since they were rarely accompanied by their womenfolk, the majority of the those who settled in India married Indian wives—who took the faith of their husbands — and thus became in a very short time intimately involved in the daily life of the country, even adopting some of its customs. One must never forget this particular aspect of population growth in Portuguese expansion overseas, which differentiated it from the pattern of other European colonial societies. The territories of the *Estado da India* were rapidly populated by Portuguese subjects born of Indian mothers and who therefore grew up in an atmosphere of mixed traditions.

Portuguese documents are distinguished by their rigorous precision: financial accounts, inventories and christening registers contain figures and dates which have been entered with the greatest care. Moreover, the discoveries of the sea route to India and the great civilizations of Asia were made during the time of the European

Renaissance and the Humanist movement which was associated with it, and which opened up the path of modern scientific research. Thus, the Portuguese chroniclers—notably João de Barros and Diogo de Couto—took great pains in documenting the History of Asia in order to include Portuguese activities within it. Every effort was made to record with precision, as is pointed out in the prologues of their *Decadas*. They employed Asian slaves to translate Persian, Indian and Ceylonese chronicles in a somewhat condensed form; the original texts have now disappeared but their essence remains. Professor C. R. Boxer has stated that these authors were the 'pioneers of orientalism'.<sup>1</sup> It is possible to add to this that their preoccupation with verifying the authenticity of their information gives a greater value to their accounts than to the hazy information recorded in the accounts left by European, Persian and Arab travellers of the Middle Ages (Ibn Batuta is a notable exception).

The Portuguese testimonies contain a certain freedom of expression, at least in the first half of the 16th century, before the Inquisition imposed its constraints. The letters which were sent to King D.Manuel from India are straightforward, which was unusual at this time. In the correspondence addressed to him, the Portuguese subjects did not hesitate to report scandals, to criticize the initiatives taken by their captains or to make their own suggestions.

However, the description which we have of India in the 16th century is rather incomplete. It is limited geographically to southern and coastal regions, and mercantile activities assume an unduly prominent position in it. The Portuguese, having established themselves in India for commercial purposes, gave priority to economic affairs in reports sent to Lisbon. This does not necessarily imply, however, that the authors took no interest in other matters.

Although there was a great deal of interest in the Indian way of life, its customs and its local legends, there was no attempt made to search for the deep significance underlying the religious and social activities. One wonders whether the Portuguese had only a surface knowledge of the religions of India. Was the early 16th-century mind still not ready to recognize the value of beliefs other than Christianity? Secular conflicts between Christians and Moslems in the Iberian peninsula and Morocco served as the basis for hatred of Indian Moslems who were to become the new

victims for Portuguese prejudice; a defiance of Hindu gods seem to have impeded any attempt at a deeper understanding of the rituals practised. Even though certain Portuguese, such as Duarte Barbosa, felt motivated to learn the native languages, it seems that they had neither the desire nor the opportunity to learn Sanskrit. The knowledge of the Sacred Books was a privilege held by the Brahmins, and the Portuguese generally lived amongst and carried out their business affairs with non-Hindu or low-caste Indians who, since they were not 'twice-born', had not themselves received the Brahmin revelation. It is not until the great movement of Jesuit evangelization in the second half of the 16th century that we encounter a desire to find out about the spiritual background of the people whom they were converting, and the first treatises in European languages of the Hindu religion.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, this gap in Portuguese documentation is filled by the wealth of Indian religious literature of the time.

From the point of view of the orientalist, Portuguese documentation has its greatest interest in the fact that it was composed at a unique moment in the history of India. In Southern Asia, as in Europe, the 16th century was a turning point. Since they arrived at the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese were both the last witnesses of the great kingdoms of Medieval Deccan and the first Europeans to have lived through and experienced the changes brought about by the expansion of Moghul power. They visited the Vijayanagar Empire at the height of Krishna Deva Raya's power, and they broadly estimated the economic and seafaring power of Gujarat under the rule of the Sultans Mahmud and Bahadur. They were welcomed by all these sovereigns, and they dealt with the most important figures in the business world. They participated in the conflicts within the Malabar kingdoms and were gradually able to learn about their traditions, their social structures, the rivalries that existed between dynasties and between various merchant groups. Over the seven years in which Vijayanagar and Gujarat collapsed, they were aware that the balance of power in the Deccan had been disturbed. They observed and commented upon the conditions created by the conquests of the Emperor Akbar and were able to glimpse the changes likely to come about as a result of the arrival of the Dutch and the British who took the initiative to start trading at this time.

With the knowledge which we already possess, we can spotlight

the principal points which Portuguese documents can contribute to the history of India.

The works of the chroniclers contain a wealth of information, but above all they scrutinize political and military events with which the Portuguese were involved. All these works merit a close study since there are in some of them whole chapters describing the local life : this was observed at close quarters by Castanheda, Gaspar Correia and Diogo de Couto who all lived in India for several years; it is also described by João de Barros and Damião de Gois according to the reports given to them. The chronicles provide the main thread of the major events which took place along the coast of the Indian Ocean during the 16th century. However, the information therein must be verified and checked by a careful study of contemporary archives relating to the events and the people referred to.<sup>3</sup>

The information gleaned from a comparative study of these different sources is limited, as we have seen, and sometimes badly interpreted; nevertheless all information is meticulously dated, which allows us to place the slightest detail within a precise chronology. In this way too we can calculate approximately the time during which a king ruled<sup>4</sup> or the time during which day-to-day events took place, or prove that certain customs or certain legends prevailed within a given period.

For example, the established relationship between the Mappilla of Malabar and the royal power in the 16th century harked back to a tradition which apparently stemmed from the conversion of Cheraman Perumal, the last sovereign of the Cera dynasty, to Islam. It is worthy of note that this tradition which had never been reported by medieval travellers was recorded for the first time by two Portuguese, Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires, who were both writing in 1515, more than fifty years before Zaynuddin.<sup>5</sup> Both of them, like most chroniclers, gathered together legends from the past and thus continued an oral tradition which might possibly have disappeared were it not for them.

In the same way, the courtly customs of the Kerala kings have been described as early as 1500 by the 'Anonymous Pilot' who accompanied Pedro Alvares Cabral, and later by Duarte Barbosa. The account of wars in which the Portuguese were involved in Malabar, around Goa and in Ceylon, reveals interesting details about the composition of the armies, the provenance of mercenaries,

the strategy of sieges, the weapons used by Indian soldiers and especially the combat techniques of the military caste of the Nayars; the account of naval battles contains much information about the tactics of the *paraos* and the defensive system of the fleets of Calicut and Gujarat. Letters of military and diplomatic affairs confirm and underline what is already known about the bonds of interdependence which united the lords, the sharing of power within the royal families, the role of mediator or messenger played by the Brahmins. Since after 1510 the Portuguese purchased horses for the King of Vijayanagar, they were able to observe during their frequent business trips many aspects of life within this kingdom: accounts written at this time include the *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, the work of Fernão Nunes which was written c. 1536, well before Firista.<sup>6</sup>

This paper will not deal with economic life in general, even though this is where Portuguese documentation makes its greatest contribution to the History of India, since some of my friends and colleagues, who are better qualified than I, will be dealing with this question in the present Seminar. However, it will suffice to say that because they were able to observe the seas and the shores, the Portuguese understood in its entirety the economic life of the Indian Ocean, noting both the commercial transactions between India and Portugal and Indian coastal and inter-Asian trade.

In the same way, one could study the social history, since Portuguese texts provide plenty of information. Indeed Indian sources of this period have mainly recorded the activities of the upper classes—Brahmins, kings and warriors, The trading world was neglected, there was little reference to either the Sudra or foreign communities, yet these are precisely the people whom the Portuguese encountered. Therefore, when reading their reports whole societies emerge from the shadows. One is able to grasp the links which interrelated these societies and to chronologically place the evolution of certain social groups. Portuguese texts mention castes which have now disappeared or have different functions (e.g. the Nayars). Duarte Barbosa established an invaluable descriptive table of the structure of the society of Malabar.<sup>7</sup> (It is interesting to note that one scarcely comes across the word *casta* in the writings of the early Portuguese authors, but rather finds the words *geração* or *lei*, which reflect quite faithfully the ideas of *jati* and *dharma*. There are also valuable pieces of information which appear from

time to time and allow us to measure the growing impact of Islam and the dying influence of the Chinese in the Eastern Indian Ocean.

For the historian of India, it is a time-consuming task to uncover and organize this vast amount of information which is scattered among many documents. One has to sift the occasional remarks and references to aspects of local life which are not dealt with at such great length as economic transactions, and which only become apparent when one is familiar with Indian laws and traditions. For example, all the accounts recording the negotiations which took place at Calicut in 1500 with Pedro Alvares Cabral mention the incidents which followed the captain's decision to hold important hostages on board his ships for several days in exchange for the Portuguese who were locked in the port. The 'Anonymous Pilot' wrote that the Samorin demanded their immediate return, 'because they were noble men and were not allowed to eat or drink on board ship' and that he would only agree to negotiate when these Hindus had been replaced by Muslim Gujaratis. Several days later, at Cochin, Cabral took on board two of the King's secretaries, both of whom were Nayars, and took them back to Lisbon. During this voyage, Cabral realized the gravity of this act and wrote a letter of apology to the King of Cochin. Thirteen years later, in a letter addressed to Albuquerque, the King still felt indignant. All the witnesses were aware of religious rules which forbade these Nayars to eat at sea, and described their desperation when they realized that they had to break these rules.<sup>8</sup> Such an account can be better understood in the light of the History of Dharmasastra and the precepts of Vijnanesvara and Hemadri who stated that sea travel brought impurities so grave upon members of the upper classes that they could never be expunged.<sup>9</sup> Thus, through casual accounts, the Portuguese have confirmed an important socio-religious fact: in the 16th century, rules forbidding sea travel were strictly observed in Kerala by members of the upper castes and by the Nayars, unless they were able to obtain special permission from the Brahmins. This strict observance is one of the reasons which explains why the Muslim communities had so much power at this time in overseas trade. Likewise we must refer to the History of Dharmasastra in order to understand how truly scandalous were these acts committed by the Portuguese of slaughtering cows in order to feed their crews, or of hanging Brahmins from the yard-arm of their ships.

It is from this sort of casual information that I was led to study the history of the Mount Eli region, north of Kerala. My attention was drawn to a rather mysterious person whom the Portuguese called 'Mamale de Cananor', because his name appeared from time to time in the correspondence sent to the king, D. Manuel, by his subjects of Malabar and Ceylon between the years 1507-28. It seemed to me that this Mamale played an important political role in trying to stop Portuguese expansion.<sup>10</sup> When I started to take an interest in this, I was directed to some well-preserved letters in the oriental archives of Torre do Tombo which were written in Arabic and signed by the king who ruled over the country of Cannanore.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Professor Jean Aubin published a letter from Baba Abdullah, ambassador of the Maldivian Sultan, which showed the hold that Mamale had over these islands. Thus I was able to focus my research with greater precision. Indeed, these royal letters showed me that the ruler whom the Portuguese mistakenly called 'el-rei de Cananor' — the King of Cannanore — called himself 'Kolathiri King of Eli', which suggested that he was the inheritor and possibly the descendant of the famous dynasty of the Kings of Eli which had been praised and acclaimed in the *Sangam* poems. Thus, information from the Portuguese archives provided me with the main thread for my research in the epigraphical collections of Southern India. Here I found several inscriptions relative to Musaka princes and antique places of Eli; this provided me with the key to further study of archaeological and literary sources, and also books relating the traditions of the whole coastal region.

Thus, it was possible to bring together the fragments available and construct a picture, somewhat incomplete it is true, of the history of the kingdom of Eli and of the origins of the Muslim community established there. At the beginning of the 16th century, this community had reached the zenith of its power, and it was possible to place Mamale (Mammali) within a well-defined historical and social frame. In addition, Portuguese authors attached to his name the title 'Adiraja' together with its translation 'Regedor do Mar'. This title identified him as Head of the Mappilla community in Cannanore, 'Lord of the High Seas', Lord of the Maldives, uncle and predecessor of the renowned Muslim princes Arakkal Ali Raja, who became so powerful towards the end of the 16th century that they supplanted the Kolathiri Eli.<sup>12</sup>

It is not necessary to pursue this matter any further in this paper, it will suffice to underline the main point which can be drawn from the above example : in preserving the memory of 'Mamale de Cananor' Portuguese witnesses have not only stimulated historical research into his social environment and his line of descent, but have also saved the principal structures of the forgotten kingdom of Eli which, at the beginning of the 16th century, was an interesting example of the sharing of power between the Hindu king and the chief of the Muslim sea merchants. Among other things, they showed that Cannanore was one of the principal ports through which horses from Ormuz passed on their way to Vijayanagar and that thus the Raja exercised a considerable influence on the town. There are glimpses of the tumultuous political history of the Maldives which illustrate the strategic position of these islands in the response which the trading communities of Malabar, Gujarat and Bengal had to Portuguese expansion.

This work was an imperfect experiment carried out on the comparative study of Indian and Portuguese historiography. There are many gaps in it, which point to the problems that have yet to be resolved; but the data at hand opens up opportunities for further fields of research.

It is evident that Indo-Portuguese History can only be studied by multidisciplinary methods. It must be the work of a group of scholars—linguists, archaeologists, palaeographers, ethnologists and, of course, historians—for it is necessary to approach this period of history with mutual understanding of our civilizations, in order not to perpetuate in today's scientific research the misinterpretations of the past. We must take account of the differences between our respective cultures. On the one hand, 16th century Portugal was a homogeneous nation, sparsely populated, situated on a narrow territory within the confines of Western Europe; on the other hand there was the ethnic, linguistic, political and religious diversity of the vast Indian world, yet held together by a cultural stability based upon thousands of years of civilization. In an article entitled *L'Inde et l'Histoire*, the eminent indologist Madeleine Biarreau has rightly warned Europeans of the dangers of misrepresenting Indian concepts, and pointed out the fact that there can be no superimposition of western concepts on Indian reality. For example, when studying economic facts alone, we are impeded in our understanding by our specific way of western thinking which

prevents us from interpreting all the responses which the Portuguese witnessed : 'Economic facts will not reveal to us the last secret of the History of India' — 'les faits économiques ne livreront pas le secret dernier de l'Histoire de l'Inde'. Madeleine Biardeau's opinion is shared by Louis Dumont, for whom the history of India cannot be realized from materialistic postulates.<sup>13</sup>

Any work carried out in interpreting Portuguese sources must be founded on a solid background knowledge. Would it be possible to conceive of the drawing up of a list of historical sources from the countries affected by Portuguese expansion (Kerala, Kanara coast, Konkan, Gujarat, Bengal)? Epigraphical and archaeological collections, including short notices of excavations, transcriptions of manuscripts, accounts of traditions scattered among local periodicals, but which are sometimes difficult to find, could be used. The main narrative sources of the Deccan were published and translated — at least in part — during the last century, and have since been re-edited usually without modification; we therefore lack critical editions by trained linguists who could make good use of the scholarly work which has been carried out in India over the past few years; likewise, the great *kavyas* which, despite their legendary character, contain an interesting contribution to the history of ideas and customs, could be treated in this way. Unfortunately, some precious texts, like the *Musakavamsa* or the *Payyanur Patti* are only available in fragments, and sometimes in a summarized form.<sup>14</sup> It is necessary to add that the linguistic diversity of India is yet another obstacle: Sanskrit and Arabic are taught in Portugal; there are specialists in Tamil, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali and Persian in Europe; but we would like to see English translations of the main sources written in Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. This field of research is immense, from the re-discovery of the material in the Mackenzie Collection in Madras and in London, to searching among the archives of shrines and mosques, to the genealogical chronicles and the histories of castes. A considerable amount of work has already been carried out in India, but very rarely have authors used the data of Indian historiography in conjunction with Portuguese sources.<sup>15</sup>

In the West, our knowledge of published oriental sources is scanty, and the same is the case of Portuguese sources in the Orient. What is known of the admirable work carried out during the last

century by Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato, Ramos Coelho, Anselmo Braancamp Freire, David Lopes and so many others who edited thousands of archive papers? They are practically always neglected by so-called specialists of Portuguese history, like Danvers, Whiteway and their followers. Had they known about these edited sources in Portugal, they would have avoided certain mistakes and thus would not have promoted prejudice. It is surprising that it was the linguistic barrier which prevented better understanding, since Portuguese is one of the most important worldwide languages. We are grateful to the modern scholars Fr. Antonio da Silva Rego, the late Armando and Jaime Cortesão, the Members of the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga (Lisbon and Coimbra) for having provided us with studies in English and bilingual translations of a large part of the documents which they have published. If we also take into account the work of translation carried out by the Hakluyt Society (London) for more than a century, we can see that there already exists quite a considerable number of published documents which are accessible in English and so of course to Indian scholars.

However, the complete works of the great chroniclers are still unavailable to those who do not understand Portuguese; certain parts have been translated into English but usually very badly. Unfortunately, the most inaccurate historical text is the best known in India, that is Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da Índia* which contains many errors. This was used notably by William Logan, whose *Malabar Manual* has served as the basis of so many works. Unfortunately, the more exact chronicle of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda is practically unknown in Asia.

It would be useful if specialists of Indian languages could read all these Portuguese texts in order to transcribe names of places, people and castes clumsily reproduced by the old Portuguese writers, and also the names of certain plants, drugs, objects and cloths. Certainly this work would provide us with interesting exact details on ancient toponymy and onomastics, and an insight into certain techniques employed throughout history.

Finally, it must be added that the history of Portugal's internal affairs affected those of the *Estado da Índia*. Indeed, how can we understand what was happening in Goa if we know nothing of the problems or political intrigues in Lisbon? The evolution of Portuguese society during the 16th century is a truly vast subject,

involving economic problems, religious crises, the question of *Cristãos-novos* and the Inquisition, the annexation by Spain (1580), the strain of European conflicts—all of which had important bearing upon the behaviour of the Portuguese in India.

Likewise, the influence of Indian civilization—particularly in the field of art—upon Renaissance Europe, as a result of growing trade with India brought about by the discovery of the Cape route, is also a vast subject area.

The examples and guidelines for future work suggested above have no other aim but to open doors upon new perspectives of the history of the Indian world. Comparative studies begun by Frs. H. Heras and G. Schurhammer, and by Dr. P. Pissurlencar, continued by Professor C.R. Boxer, Fr. J. Wicki and certain members of the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos (Lisbon),<sup>16</sup> are now being taken up by the scholars of the review *Indica* and by those working for *Mare Luso-indicum* (Société d'Histoire de l'Orient, Paris). Is it necessary to state to what degree the research which we have started could be improved by specialists of India and Portugal? We must collect and regulate an enormous bibliography, coordinate precise inquiries within limited areas, train specialists and provide the means to keep all concerned well-informed of all the work that is being carried out: an immense task, but one which would undoubtedly reveal that the West coast of India was, at the dawning of modern times, one of the most dynamic centres of the known world.

## NOTES

1. C.R.Boxer, *Three Historians of Portuguese Asia*, (Macau, 1948) p.9.
2. Cf. *The Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais of Father Jacobo Fenicio*, S. J. ed. J. Charpentier, (Paris / Uppsala, 1933). *Tratado do Padre Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso sobre o Hinduismo (Maduré, 1616)*, ed. J. Wicki (Lisbon, 1973).
3. Barros (J.de), *Asia*, (Lisbon, 1945-6); Couto (Diogo de), *Da Assia*, (Lisbon, 1778-88); Castanheda (F. L. de), *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, (Coimbra, 1924-33); Correa (G.), *Lendas da India*, (Lisbon, 1860-6); Gois (Damião de), *Crônica do felicissimo rei D. Manuel*, (Coimbra, 1949-55). In addition to the above, the recently discovered *Crônica do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, (Museu Britânico,

- Egerton 20901), ed. Luis de Albuquerque, Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, (Coimbra, 1974).
4. G. Bouchon, *Les Rois de Kotte au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Mare Luso-indicum* Vol. I, (1971) pp. 82-96.
  5. *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, ed. M. Longworth-Dames, (London, 1918-21), Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, pp 44-8; vol. 2, pp. 3-5; *The Suma oriental of Tomé Pires*, ed. A. Cortesão, (London, 1944), Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 89-90, vol. II, p. 359.
  6. David Lopes, *Chronica dos reis de Bisnaga, manuscripto inedito do século XVI*, (Lisbon, 1897). This text was re-edited, translated into English and completed by R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire, Vijayanagar* (Delhi, 1962).
  7. Barbosa, *o.c.*, vol II, pp. 3-74.
  8. G. Bouchon, *Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la Découverte portugaise*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, vol. II (1973), pp. 13-14.
  9. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, Poona, 1930-62, vol. III, pp. 933-8, IV, p. 391; A. L. Basham, *Notes on Seafaring in Ancient India*, in *Arts and Letters* vol. XXIII (1949-50), p. 69; Hemadri, *Caturvagacintamani*, (Calcutta, 1967), p. 667.
  10. G. Bouchon, *Mamale de Cananor, un adversaire de l'Inde Portugaise (1507-28)*, (Geneve/Paris, 1975).
  11. Note to Prof. Jean Aubin, who directed me to these invaluable documents, which he himself translated, as well as the *Lettre de Baba Abdullah a D. Manuel (Début 1519)*, edited in *Mare Luso-indicum*, vol. II (1973), pp. 201-11.
  12. *The History of The Ali Rajas of Cannanore* was written by Dr. K.K.N. Kurup (Trivandrum, 1975) at the same time as the writing of my own work, but he dealt with a later period and was based upon the archives of the Arakkal family. See also P. A. Sayed Mohamed in *History in the March*, (Kerala Hist. Association, Ernakulam, 1966), p. 175 ff.
  13. M. Biarreau, *L'Inde et L'Histoire*, in *Revue Historique*, no. 475 (1965), pp. 47-58; L. Dumont, *La Civilisation indienne et nous, Cahiers des Annales*, 23, (Paris, 1964).
  14. *Musakavamsa*, extracts published in *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. II, p. 87 ff. Gundert, *Hebrew version of the Jewish sasaram with translation into English, together with a notice of an ancient Malayalam poem called the Song of Payanur*, in *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, no. 31 (1844), pp. 14-16.
  15. A learned example is provided by Prof. Jean Aubin in *Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, vol. I (1971). pp. 3-63. Dr. M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat. The Response to the Portuguese in the 16th Century*, (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1976), also made a praiseworthy attempt at this.
  16. Most of their works were published in *Studia, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos*, (Lisboa).

## Portuguese Sources on Sixteenth Century Indian Economic History

*Luis Filipe Thomaz*

### I

IT IS IN THE CONTEXT of studies in comparative history and an interdisciplinary approach that I present these notes on Portuguese documentation relevant to the economic history of sixteenth century India. I will confine myself only to the sources of economic relevance, not because I fail to recognize the importance of others, but because I am convinced that material wealth provides the foundation for personality and culture, and in a great measure, regulates these.

India, notwithstanding its ancient and rich civilization, has for several reasons very few sources of information about its economy and material life. On the other hand, whereas it was quite some time before the Portuguese could discern the culture and spiritual life of India, they nevertheless got involved in its economic activity as soon as they reached the East, at the close of the 15th century. Thus, the fairly copious records that they left behind, chiefly during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, cover the fields where the indigenous records are scarce, and their relatively complementary position is extremely fruitful for the study of the relevant period.

Now, speaking about these records, I have selected the year 1580 as the cut-off point, not because the dynastic changes that overtook Portugal that year had any immediate significant repercussions in the East, but essentially out of a practical consideration, *viz.* since the Portuguese court was until that date established in Lisbon, the existing records are available in Lisbon, though adversely affected

by the earthquake of 1755. Later records are dispersed in several archives, including those of Goa and Simancas, with which I am less familiar.

## II

To appreciate the value of the Portuguese sources in terms of the economic history of India, it is essential that we should first inquire whether the documents are relevant to the subject proper or merely serve to elucidate the economic history of the Portuguese in India. This evidently leads us to the problem of the relationship between the native economy and that of the Portuguese empire.

Traditional Portuguese historiography has, in accordance with its predominantly Eurocentric bias, laid stress chiefly upon the spice trade between Asia and Europe via the Cape, throwing into the background the inter-regional commerce carried on by the Portuguese within the confines of the Indian Ocean. This is exactly what we notice, for example, in the otherwise scholarly work of João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Epocas de Portugal Económico*. Such a bias makes it seem as if Portuguese commerce was, in relation to India, something extraneous, a system apart, touching only a point on the fringe of the indigenous economy.

The importance of short and medium range commerce was, I presume, reviewed by Antonio Sergio, who was, however, unable to publish anything on the subject, and it was subsequently brought to light by other writers. Magalhães Godinho now gives it its due importance in his monumental work *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, but the chapter is by no means closed since a major part of the available records is yet to be explored.

It is, no doubt, interesting to attempt to quantify and to establish the exact relationship between the volumes of various kinds of commerce. Comparison of global figures is not yet possible, and it is doubtful if it will ever be, but there is, however, some data available which we can utilize.

In a brief study published earlier, this writer had the opportunity to draw attention to the transactions in the clove trade. The Portuguese never exported to Europe more than 12.5 per cent of the total production of the Moluccas and the equivalent of say 32 per cent of the average amounts obtained by the factors of His Highness

in Ternate, while the rest was distributed to the Asian consumers like China, Pegu, India and Persia.

Another important set of data are the figures furnished in the 'Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India' (Register of the cities and forts which the Portuguese Crown possesses in the region of India), a manuscript of around 1580, available in the National Library at Madrid and published by Francisco Mendes da Luz.<sup>4</sup> It was compiled for the information of Philip II of Spain when he assumed the Crown of Portugal, so that the king could know what he was doing when he bestowed offices and benefices upon his new subjects. The register indicates the net profit that could accrue to the beneficiary of each public office and each grant of a commercial voyage. Such voyages were, in those days, almost invariably granted to concessionaires, and rarely exploited directly by the State.

From this set of data we are able to compute that the 'Carreira da India' (regular shipping line between Portugal and India) could yield to the concessionaires a net annual profit amounting to about 33,000 cruzados, whereas the voyages from Meliapur and Nagapatnam to the various ports in the Bay of Bengal paid altogether around 33,500. A single journey from Goa to Macau and to Japan, by itself, 35,000; voyages starting from Macau 10,000 and those based on Malacca, on the whole, 92,000. In this context, therefore, the Cape route does not represent more than a fifth of the profits.<sup>5</sup>

These figures suffice to show that Portuguese commerce in the sixteenth century developed predominantly in the Indian Ocean, over a network of short and medium range routes which actually encompassed almost every coast of Asia, and thereby was closely interlinked with the local conditions of supply and demand.

In addition to this question of geographical bounds, there was another factor which made Portuguese commercial activity in the Indian Ocean dependent on, and complementary to, the native production systems, namely, that the Portuguese were neither able to impose their own products upon the Asian markets nor to introduce alternative production systems on Asian soil or to control the existing ones. As a matter of fact the main reason which drove the Portuguese to apply themselves to the local trade seems to be that the Cape route to Portugal was often a loser. Being unable to impose their products upon the East (as it became clear even from the first voyage of Vasco da Gama that there was no demand for these in

India), they were obliged to pay in hard cash and in terms of precious metals for the spices they acquired. Hence their concern about the gold of Monomotapa, and since this commodity was traditionally bartered for Indian cloth, particularly the textiles of Cambay, it drove the Portuguese to display greater interest in this kind of produce. Further, the intensive commercial traffic between Cambay and Malacca, and the importance of the South East Asian drugs and spices, led them in their turn to take interest in new areas and novel types of merchandise, and thus in a short space of time they got involved in all the commercial routes of the Indian Ocean.

Their swift adjustment to an extensive and rather complex economic environment may be partly explained by the fact that they were loath to innovate and keen to make the most of the available experience. The numerous native associates they enlisted, as for example, Jews like Gaspar da India, Hindus like Nina Chatu, and several others whom Panduranga Pissurlencar has identified in India, served as their commercial advisers and enabled them to quickly grasp that age-old experience.<sup>6</sup> Thus, in truth, they were able to duplicate the commercial usages of their precursors.

The most exhaustive and systematic of the Portuguese writings about the trade in the Indian Ocean is the *Suma Oriental*<sup>7</sup> of Tomé Pires, which is basically a repertory of information for presentation to King D. Manuel, so contrived as to be almost an apologia of this commercial imitation. It is precisely this attitude that confirms the continuity between the Portuguese and Indo-Moslem commercial activities. It establishes that Portuguese documentation is a valuable testimony, which, in terms of time, transcends the period during which it was produced, since it provides a remarkable exposition of the customs and usages which have descended from much earlier times. Their limitations derive from several factors, some of which are inherent in the nature of the Portuguese trade and others in the records themselves.

To begin with, we ought to mention a certain geographical restriction and a thematic limitation. As regards the first, the Portuguese presence was essentially littoral, and references to the hinterland are occasional and indirect and only to the extent that they concerned the coastal trade. On the other hand, the Portuguese in the East, in keeping with what they had done on the West African coast and contrary to what they were doing in the Atlantic Islands and would do in Brazil, devoted themselves merely to trading in,

and transportation of, merchandise, without concerning themselves with its production. Hence, the documentation available enlightens us chiefly on the movement of goods and only indirectly and scantily on the production activities. Some records of agricultural activity are, however, available only in respect of two restricted areas, one of which is Goa—where the Portuguese government, as the successor and heir of the Sultans of Bijapur, exercised some sort of control on the traditional agricultural societies—and the other is the 'Provincia do Norte' of Daman and Bassein, where a sort of hybrid Indo-Portuguese socio-economic system prevailed.

Another limitation derives from the fact that only the records relating to the official state trading activities survive, with practically nothing available to enlighten us on the private trade. References are made to the latter only whenever it comes into conflict with the former, and on the rare occasions when it is aided or its deficits are made up by the State.

In spite of this, however, one can make a good guess that, at least in certain areas, private commercial activity by far surpassed that of the Crown, and no doubt it was more closely associated with the traditional native systems than the commercial activity of the Crown, since the private traders seemed constantly engaged in coastal trading, and even in retail trade on land (very often in areas beyond the Portuguese sphere of influence), in order to evade the monopolistic type of restrictions imposed by the Crown.

Finally, the most important limitation is that the documentation at present available represents only a small fraction of what once existed, since it is made up of what was salvaged from the 1755 earthquake which destroyed the entire archives from the Casa da India, and a substantial part of those from Torre de Tombo, and this, of course, apart from the several documents lost as a result of wars and shipwrecks before they even reached the archives. The surviving documentation is, therefore, fragmentary, and consequently disorganized. Although prolific in concrete data, it seldom allows us to assess global figures which could enable us to make correct macro-economic analysis or chronological sequences of events or establish evolutionary trends.

Hence, the available information must be painstakingly put together, and assembled like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle with several pieces missing. Nevertheless, works like that of Mme. Bouchon, concerning Mamale of Cannanore, can yield unexpected results.<sup>8</sup>

Especially after about 1530, records relating to accounts become scarce. We could surmise that this was a result of starting a 'Casa de Contos' (Accounts Department), initially at Cochin and later in Goa, on the ground that the documents which were hitherto sent to Lisbon for examination were now being processed in India—if only we could find traces of them in India, and if there were no shortages in Lisbon of similar kinds of documents pertaining to the African Coast, the Atlantic islands and Brazil. After 1550 even the letters, which until then were relatively plentiful, decreased, and hence the period of three decades, from the middle of that century till the dynastic change in Portugal, is particularly obscure.

### III

The kind of documentation at our disposal is obviously related to Portuguese commercial and administrative organization in the East. We shall refer only to the commercial activities undertaken directly by the State, as very little is known to us about those engaged in by others.

The pivot of the Portuguese commercial organization was the *feitoria* (factory) headed by a *feitor* (factor) who was assisted by one or more *escrivães* (clerks).<sup>9</sup> Their primary function was to store, buy and sell merchandise; but they were often engaged in such concomitant activities as giving logistic support to navigation and fulfilling compacts and contracts with the local authorities. Some were based on land, in ports under Portuguese suzerainty and elsewhere, and others aboard the merchantmen, in which case they sometimes went ashore and functioned temporarily at ports of call. On smaller ships the captains also acted as factors.

There being no clear-cut demarcation between the finances of the State and its commercial capital, it was a standard practice for the factors to be engaged in transactions of financial and fiscal nature, like collection of taxes and duties and payments to the garrisons. However, in the major settlements, this twofold responsibility tapered off, and the functions which in other places were exercised by the factors were now apportioned either to higher ranking functionaries, like the *vedores da fazenda* (comptrollers of the exchequer), responsible for financial audit, or to specialized agencies, apparently subordinate to the factors, like the *almoxarifes dos mantimentos*.

(purveyors of supplies) and the *almoxarifes dos armazens* (purveyors of arsenals). The first of these were responsible for victualling the garrisons and the ships in transit, and sometimes for payment of wages as well, whilst the others provisioned arms, ammunition, and navigation equipment. Each purveyor was assisted by a clerk. In the port cities like Goa and Malacca, where the shipping traffic was considerable, in addition to these two agencies there was another, the *ribeira* (riverside shipyard) where skilled craftsmen controlled by a *patrão* (master) undertook the necessary repairs and even built new ships under the guidance of a *mestre* (shipwright).

The documentation which emanated from the factories is most useful for our purpose, since it directly concerns commercial activity. That from the purveyors is more copious and no less important as it provides data about prices, salaries, workmanship, sources of supply, etc.

When the factory was situated in a territory which was a Portuguese possession or protectorate, its staff was subject to the authority of the garrison *capitão* (commander) who headed both the civil and military administrations, but who, on principle, was not supposed to interfere directly in the management of the finances.

Every garrison and ship usually had a *provedor de defuntos* (executor or liquidator of the property of the deceased), also assisted by a clerk, and they were obliged to collect and settle the possessions of those who died and to remit the proceeds to their respective heirs, after allowing for the official commission due to themselves. These assets were often invested in trade or loaned to the State, whose finances were invariably in the red, and could not, therefore, subsist without such loans. The documentation which has emanated from this source and which, besides its importance from the point of view of social history, also allows us glimpses of private commercial activities, is unfortunately scanty.

At the head of the administration there was a *Governador* or a *Vice-Rei*, surrounded by a small court and by some departments of the Central administration, like the *Vedoria d' Fazenda* (Superintendence of Finances), and with effect from 1530 the *Casa de Contos*, to which all the officials dealing with moneys were accountable. We shall leave aside the judicial, military and ecclesiastical organizations as they had little or nothing to do with commerce.

The taxes and duties levied by the Portuguese administration varied largely from city to city. In the settlements located in the

protected states, wherein there was a sort of sharing of power between the Portuguese Crown and the native rulers, the levies depended upon the relevant stipulations in the agreements made with the parties concerned. In those areas where the Portuguese enjoyed full sovereignty, the levies almost invariably derived from the practices prevalent earlier, since the Portuguese administration hardly ever changed anything in this regard and was content to establish itself as the successor of the potentates whom it replaced, and to continue the same taxation pattern. The collection of such revenues was entrusted to several agencies, which also varied from place to place, like the *tanadarias* (thanedars' offices) in Goa and the *Praças do Norte* (Northern Settlements) and the small *alfandegas* (customs posts) distributed all over and generally headed by a *juiz da alfandega* (customs appraiser). It is only these fixed revenues, and never the proceeds from commerce, that figure in the *orçamentos* (budget estimates) of which we are aware of only three pertaining to the period of our reckoning, namely, that of the *Tombo da India* (Indian cartulary) by Simão Botelho (c. 1554) and those of the *Regimentos* (Instructions) by Antão de Noronha (c. 1564) and by Diogo Velho (c. 1574).<sup>10</sup>

The norms which generally regulated the mercantile activity originate at times from the Crown itself, mostly in the shape of *regimentos* issued to a specified individual on assuming a given appointment, and which often remained in force until they were superseded by others. There are also those which emanated from the Viceroys and Governors, from the commanders of fortresses and even from the factors, for their subordinate staff.

If it so happened that the instructions issued by the Crown were impracticable or proved to be inadequate or out of date, it was then resolved in council not to act upon them and an *acta* (official minutes) of the council meeting was drawn up stating the reasons which led to this course of action. In such a case, when a hard decision was involved, it was customary to obtain in writing the *pareceres* (opinions) of experienced people, including the high officials of the administration.

When it was merely a question of determining an extraordinary expenditure, such as a payment or an occasional delivery of money or goods, the order was issued by the Governor/Commander/Factor, in writing in the shape of a *mandado* (warrant) and, although such warrants were generally meant only for *ad hoc* orders, there were also others with instructions of a permanent or generic nature,

almost amounting to regulations, which were, at times, called *mandados gerais* (general warrants).

In addition to the norms of an internal nature set in these documents, there were also the patterns established by trade contracts, treaties and compacts (*contratos, tratados e acordos de comercio*) made with the native potentates.<sup>11</sup>

All the contracts, compacts, treaties, regulations and other documents mentioned above can be grouped together generically under the title of documents of a *preceptive* nature. However, the most important documents, so far as the economic history of India is concerned, are those of an *accounting* nature, in view of the tangible data they provide us with.

The clerk with each factor, purveyor, liquidator or any other official who dealt with moneys, or goods, used to maintain a record of every transaction effected in a receipts and expenditure ledger (*livro de receita e despesa*), kept on the double-entry system, usually incompetently. The ledgers which have come down to us are virtually crawling with errors, even simple arithmetical mistakes, and no wonder, considering that the clerks were, as a rule, young noblemen without either commercial experience or training in accountancy, and who, moreover, often reckoned in Roman numbers. The clerk signed along with the official responsible for the receipts and expenditure entries and, as such, not only served as a witness to the transactions made, but also shared the blame along with the factor in case of any fraud or illegality.

Amongst all the documents relating to economic activity, the ledgers are the most complete, valuable and interesting, for they are the only ones which give us an insight into the activity in a factory and in a purveyor's office or the transactions which took place in the course of a commercial voyage. Those from the purveyors of supplies provide interesting details for the study of society and of everyday life, those from the purveyors of arsenals, about navigation, but those from the factories, both on shore and at sea, are the ones which best elucidate the commercial activity. Unfortunately there are no more than a dozen of them available altogether (some of them incomplete), besides scattered fragments of some others. It should be noted here that, strictly speaking, most of them originated from the factories outside India (like Ormuz, Socotra, Sofala and Pegu) but this does not mean that they are of no interest for the history of India, since they are witnesses to the transactions involving

countless products of Indian origin, to the activities of Hindu merchants established in South East Asia, and so on.

Every expenditure, excepting petty and out-of-pocket expenses, had to be duly supported by a receipt, voucher or bill of lading (*conhecimento*) in the proper form, signed by the receiver, even in the case of an extraordinary expense authorized by a warrant (*mandado*) from the higher authority. Unlike the receipt and expenditure ledgers, the *conhecimentos* and *mandados* have reached us in sufficient numbers. Most of those that have survived originated from the purveyors of supplies and from arsenals, and they sometimes make up a compact series which enables us to follow the relevant transactions through months in succession.

When the commission of an official came to an end, his receipt and expenditure ledger was handed over, together with the supporting vouchers, to a controller (*contador*) for auditing, and the latter often annotated it, making his remarks in the margin. From some of these it appears as if the books were first examined by a controller on the spot, prior to their being sent to the accounts department for final audit.

If every expenditure was duly accounted for, or if the official made it up to the State in default of proper accounts, he was given a clearance certificate (*carta de quitação*) which exempted him from any future responsibility. These certificates usually made a mention of the total amount of moneys and of every kind of merchandise he handled, and though, on the one hand, their usefulness is restricted to the extent that they only indicate the total figures involved without specifying either the items concerned or their sources of supply, yet, on the other hand, they afford us a welcome opportunity for making a comparative study of the turnovers in the various factories and purveyors' offices. Whereas in effect all the clearance certificates actually issued may be available presently, since their registration in the Royal Chancellery was obligatory and such records are available in their entirety, it should be noted, nonetheless, that most of the officials died without rendering accounts, and were probably not given any clearance certificates.

Finally, a third variety of records is made up of sources of a *descriptive* nature, which enlarge upon the dry facts available in the accounting documents by supplying additional information which enables us to interpret them, and to build them up appropriately into a complex whole. The most abundant and versatile amongst

these are the official letters (*cartas missivas*) addressed by the governors, commanders, factors and other individuals to the king, giving him an account, often in great detail, of their own activities. Many of these include valuable commercial information. Information of an economic nature is, obviously, not confined only to the letters addressed to the King, and no doubt one could also glean it, for example, from the countless letters written by the Jesuit missionaries to their *confrères* in Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Besides these letters one must also take into account the intelligence reports (*informações*) submitted to the Crown with regard to the various problems, including many of the economic sort. Some of them were of the administrative type, and the rest assumed a somewhat literary character, particularly when it came to *geographic descriptions* of the kind found in the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, which is the most valuable of all from the point of our subject, and the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*.<sup>13</sup>

We can also glean data for economic history from the chroniclers, particularly João de Barros, who, in his day possessed a unique understanding of the interrelation between economy and history, and could, in view of this, be considered a true pioneer of modern historical methodology.

#### IV

While I have no wish to turn this paper into an inventory of the archives, or of any other set of records for that matter, I do feel that it is appropriate, in conclusion, to sketch out some notes about them, pointing to the whereabouts of the various types of documents referred to earlier.

Almost all the documents we are concerned with can be traced to the Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo. Regarding the series of the *Chancelarias* as we have already noted, the most important for our purpose are the clearance certificates, out of which those pertaining to the time of King D. Manuel have already been published by Anselmo Braancamp Freire<sup>14</sup> and the rest are practically unknown. Research is difficult and, if it is to prove efficacious, one has to leaf through the records page by page, since the reference indexes available, though painstakingly compiled in the 18th century (either by names of individuals, indicating their respective positions,

responsibilities and jurisdictions, or under common titles) are not fully exhaustive.

The documents of preceptive character can be found partly in the *Livros de Leis e Regimentos de D. Manuel* (Registers of Laws and Regulations of King D. Manuel) and partly in the *Maços de Leis* (Collections of Laws) which are listed in detail.

The receipt and expenditure ledgers are to be found mainly in the *Fundo Antigo* or *Nucleo Antigo* which has been carefully inventoried only recently, but there are also several fragments of others dispersed through the *Corpo Cronologico* which we shall discuss later.<sup>15</sup>

As regards the remaining records, there is, as a rule, no special correlation between the type of document and the collection wherein it was placed. In principle (very often overlooked in practice) the most important documents, such as the treaties of peace and commerce and correspondence with foreign powers or that relating to diplomatic deals, were preserved in *gavetas* (lockers). They constitute an assortment of some thousands of documents, deriving from divers sources, spread over several epochs, and only a small fraction of which relates to India. It consists mainly of despatches, and includes all the records pertinent to the dealings with Castille concerning the possession of Maluco. There is an alphabetical index by names grouped under common titles, but it is not exhaustive. Since they were important, fair copies were made of all these documents after the earthquake, in serial order, and bound into volumes (*Reforma das Gavetas*) which make for easy reading, but the transcription is not free from errors. The Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos has, under the direction of Dr. Silva Rego, published the entire collection entitled *As Gavetas da Torre de Tombo* wherein the documents relating to the overseas territories have been published in full with the résumés of the others. It will be easy to seek the desired information once the reference alphabetical index is published.<sup>16</sup>

The most voluminous and richest is, however, the *Corpo Cronologico* containing 82,902 documents, more than one third of which originated from India. It is a mass of documents of various kinds (letters, warrants, receipts, regulations, intelligence reports, records of meetings, etc.), salvaged after the 1755 earthquake and set together in chronological order, which, under the circumstances, appeared to be the most natural thing to do.

The dateless documents which could not, as such, be included

in the *Corpo Cronologico* are broadly grouped together either as *Cartas Missivas* (Official Correspondence — 4 bundles) or as *Cartas dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da India* (1 bundle) which, as a matter of fact, contains letters from individuals who were not Viceroys and even certain documents which cannot be classed as letters. Complete inventories prepared recently are available in respect of both the collections, but there are no alphabetical indexes. Letters from Afonso de Albuquerque are preserved in a separate bundle.

There are also some interesting documents from the point of view of our subject (particularly letters and other texts of a descriptive nature) amongst two private collections which have long since been integrated into the patrimony of the Torre do Tombo, namely, the *Colecção S. Lourenço* and the *Colecção S. Vincente*. Probably there may be more like these in the archives of some of the convents.

Besides those in the Torre do Tombo, there are the collections of Jesuit Letters in the Libraries at Ajuda and at the Academy of Science at Lisbon and in the Public Library of Evora. Other libraries, besides these three, where one may glean some stray documents pertinent to our subject, are the National Library of Lisbon, the Library of the University of Coimbra and the Public Libraries of Braga and Porto, besides, of course, the Historical Archives of Goa. But, in all these, as well as in the Overseas Historical Archives, one can rarely find documents dated prior to 1580.

Finally, one ought to remember that, quite a few of the documents mentioned above have already been published in the following compilations:—*Alguns Documentos do Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas dos Portugueses* (Some Documents from the National Archives relating to the Portuguese Navigation and Conquests), by Ramos Coelho,<sup>17</sup> *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam* (Letters of Afonso de Albuquerque supplemented by relevant supporting documents),<sup>18</sup> and *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente* (Documents pertaining to the History of the Missions belonging to Portuguese Religious Patronage in the East).<sup>19</sup> Similarly the book entitled *Subsidios para a História da India Portuguesa* (Aids for Indo-Portuguese History),<sup>20</sup> by Lima Felner, also deserves special mention, as it publishes the two most important codices from the *Fundo Antigo*, namely, the *Tombo*

da India, by Simão Botelho, and the *Livro dos Pesos, Medidas e Moedas da India* (Conversion Table of Weights, Measures and Coins of India), by Antonio Nunes, which is essential for translating the numerical data supplied by the documents into modern units and the various monetary systems in terms of Portuguese coinage.

## NOTES

1. 3rd edition, (Lisbon, 1973).
2. 2 Volumes, (Lisbon, 1965-8).
3. 'Maluco and Malacca', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas*. Memoranda of the 2nd Luso-Spanish Colloquium of Overseas History, (Lisbon, 1975).
4. 'Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India e das Capitanias e mais cargos que nelas há e Importancia delas' (Register of the Cities and Forts which the Portuguese Crown possesses in the region of India, indicating their relative importance and the captaincies and other posts there are in them) in the *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol XXI, (Coimbra, 1953).
5. These figures have been given in greater detail in an article entitled 'Les portugais dans les mers de l'Archipel au XVIe siècle' which is to appear in no. 18 of *Archipel* (Paris, 1979).
6. Vide the article 'Colaboradores hindus de Afonso de Albuquerque' by Panduranga Pissurlencar in *Congresso do Mundo Portugues*, 1940, Vol. IV, pp. 33-50; and our study entitled 'Nina Chatu e o Comercio Português em Malaca' in *Memorias of the Centro de Estudos de Marinha*, Vol. V, (Lisbon, 1975).
7. Armando Cortesão, *Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires—an account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan written in Malacca and India during 1512-1515 and the itinerary of a voyage in the Red Sea, maritime rules, almanack and maps, written/drawn in the East before 1515*. Translated from the Portuguese manuscript available in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, 2 vols. (London, 1944).
8. *Mamale de Cananor—Un adversaire de l'Inde Portugaise* (1507-18), (Paris, 1975).
9. The history of the Portuguese administration in the East has not yet been fully researched; the best available study is still that which appears in *Historia de Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, compiled under the direction of Antonio Baião, Hernani Cidade and Manuel Murias, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1937-40.)
10. Published respectively by R. J. de Lima Felner in *Subsidios para a História da India Portuguesa*, (Goa, 1951), and Aguedo de Oliveira in *Orçamento do Estado da India (1574) feito por mando de Diogo Velho, Vedor da Fazenda da India*, (Lisbon, 1960).

11. Some of them have been published by J.F. Judice Biker in *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de paz que o Estado da Índia Portuguesa fez com os reis e senhores com quem teve relações nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental desde o principio da conquista até o fim do sec. XVIII*, 14 Vols., (Lisbon, 1881-7).
12. Cf. John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History*, (Bombay, 1969).
13. Cf. supra, note 7; there are several editions of the *Livro* by Duarte Barbosa e. g. the *Collecção de Noticias para a História e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portugueses ou lhes são vizinhas* published by the Academia Real das Ciências, 7 Vols., (Lisbon, 1812-56), Vol. II, pp. 235-388.
14. 'Cartas de quitação del Rei D. Manuel in the *Arquivo Histórico Português* (Portuguese Historical Archives), Vols. V, VIII and IX, (Lisbon, 1907, 1910 and 1911 respectively).
15. Out of the codices from 'Nucleo Antigo' the following have been published: No. 296 (Tombo da India, cf. supra note 10); No. 705 (Cargoes carried by the State ships in 1518) by Geneviève Bouchon, 'Navires at cargaisons-retour de l'Inde en 1518' Paris, Societé de Histoire de l'Orient, 1978; No. 800 (the factory at Socotra in 1510), by José Pereira da Costa, *Socotará e o dominio Português no Oriente*, from the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, No. LXXXI, Lisbon, 1973; Nos. 801 and 802 (Voyages between Malaca, Pacem and Pegu, 1512-1515), by Luis Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *De Malaca a Pegu Viagens de um feitor Português (1512-1515)*, Instituto de Alta Cultura, Lisbon, 1966; Nos. 803 and 806 (factory at Sofala, 1515 and 1516-17), published in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na Africa Central 1497-1840*, 7 vols., (Lisbon, 1962-71); No. 807 (Voyage from Cochin to Malaca, Pacem and Pegu in 1519-21), published by Luis Filipe Thomaz, *A viagem de Antonio Correia a Pegu em 1519* (Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, No. 96), (Lisbon, 1976); No. 865 *Livro dos pesos, medidas e moedas da India*, (cf. infra note 20). We are given to understand that Nos. 760, 808 and 874 are under preparation for publication in the near future.
16. 10 volumes published, (Lisbon, 1960-74).
17. Lisbon, 1892.
18. Published under the direction of R.A. de Bulhão Pato and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, 7 vols., (Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1884-1935).
19. *India*, a series by A. da Silva Rego, 12 Vols., (Lisbon, 1954-8).
20. Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências, 1848.

## The Voiceless in Goan Historiography

A Case for the Source-Value of  
Church Records in Goa

Teotonio R. de Souza

IT IS IMPORTANT to bring about a radical shift in the trend of Goan historiography to make it relevant in the context of its new liberated status and of the new prospects and challenges which the change has laid before us. Such a shift of trend is conceived here in terms of a reinterpretation of the Goan past by replacing the myth of 'Golden Goa' with the reality of the socio-economic pressures as well as opportunities to which the Goan population was introduced by Portuguese rule.<sup>1</sup> This proposal of a new purpose-oriented historiography may not appeal to those who are contented with the sight of some patches of exotic cultural vestiges left behind by colonial rule. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting for the benefit of their taste from the chapter on 'Golden Goa' in Maurice Collis's *The Land of the Great Image*: 'For Latins the city was a paradise, a lotus-eating island of the blest, where you could sit on your veranda listening to music as the breeze blew in from the sea, *with humble folk within call to minister to your every wish*' (emphasis added). No wonder it was called Golden.<sup>2</sup> The author could not have been more sarcastic in his condemnation of a history of a colonized people from the standpoint of a colonial power.

There is a plethora of published historical works on Goa,<sup>3</sup> but a critical look at them leaves us with hardly anything that has any depth of analysis and is not tainted directly or indirectly with the myth of 'Golden Goa' and its implied theory of welfare that served to quieten the guilt of the erstwhile rulers and their few local beneficiaries. Much of this bibliography can be classified as 'tourist brochure history', seeking to focus the stage-lights upon some

surface attractions, leaving thereby in the dark some stark realities which need to be considered also as a part of the same colonial legacy. One could draw up a long list of such grim problems facing the Goan population in the wake of its liberation, but let me point out only our democratic but communalism-infected politics, and our strong and liturgically alert Christian minority in a state of economic and political lethargy.<sup>4</sup>

There is another attitude also that can be detected in many of the existing historical works on Goa. It tends to regard colonial rule as *gesta Dei per lusitanos*, that is, God working through the Portuguese. Diogo de Couto, for instance, even after a harsh commentary on the Portuguese administrative abuses and military failures, ends his *Dialogo do Soldado Prático* by repeating in the fashion of the previous chroniclers that the presence of the Portuguese in the East was by divine dispensation.<sup>5</sup> We are not surprised also with the attitude of the well-known early and late missionary historians from Europe. They chose to write in terms of 'spiritual conquests', which justified the material conquests of Portuguese arms. But what can surprise a Goan historian following our new trend is the fact that he does not need to work hard to find illustrations of the maxim 'more popish than the pope'. To quote one man of the soil for producing a reactionary document in Portuguese, we have Sebastião do Rego, one of the first four native Goan clerics to be admitted in the Theatine Congregation. He preached a sermon in 1744 describing the Portuguese as sent by God to India to be 'the new Peters and Pauls chosen to exalt the holy name of Christ'.<sup>6</sup> This may sound old history, but a more recent Goan author who studied the recruitment of native clergy in India has described the opening up of certain Religious Congregations to natives of Goa as a result of the fact that 'almost three centuries of Christianity and Christian influence had made them better men',<sup>7</sup> meaning I suppose that they had learnt to sing the desired tune.

I wish to distinguish yet a third category in the existing bibliography on the history of Goa. It covers the published documentation. We have present among us here the venerable figures of Rev. Dr J. Wicki, S. J. and Rev. Dr A. da Silva Rego, who have given us their best in their monumental series of published documentation entitled *Documenta Indica* in 14 vols. and *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português na Índia* in 12 vols. Their work may appear to be of usefulness only to the historians of Christianity

in India, but there is much in it for writing the kind of history I am advocating here. I wish to recall in this connection the influence that J. H. da Cunha Rivara, who arrived as Chief Secretary of the Goa Government in 1855 and let himself stay here for nearly twenty years, had on the study of Goan cultural institutions.<sup>8</sup> This scholar-administrator showed great concern for the preservation of Goan language and Goan village communities. There followed a spurt in historical research under his patronage and quite a few bright young Goans began delving into the Goan past. No one who wishes to study the socio-economic history of Goa will be grateful enough for the documentation contained in F. N. Xavier's *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades*, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*, and *Collecção de Bandos*, not to mention his several other publications.<sup>9</sup> Even though the author lived in an atmosphere of comparative constitutional freedom, the official protectionism did not permit him to do more than compile objective information. There is no attempt at interpreting these data and the author has a very simplistic explanation for this in a note appended to Part Two of the first edition of his *Bosquejo*: 'I have not taken upon myself the task of presenting my reflections upon the content of the documents published herein, not only because it would be alien to my intended goal, but also due to my lack of sufficient strength to do it'.<sup>10</sup>

We cannot bypass the commendable work done by the former Director of the Goa Archives, the late Professor Pissurlencar. I wish to choose, however, to comment only on his *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India*, which may be regarded from among all his other publications as most relevant for studying the native response to Portuguese rule.<sup>11</sup> Whatever may have been the intentions of the author in the post-Republican era, this work of his could prove very conclusively to his Portuguese masters that, contrary to the prevailing belief, the Hindu community of Goa had served the Portuguese colonial and political interests with unremitting constancy and zeal. This truth may give little comfort to those who are making political capital today out of their little knowledge of the past.

To conclude this sketchy evaluation of the past trends I may still have to refer to the works produced in the past few decades. We have among us another veteran of the Portuguese imperial history, and it would be highly presumptuous on my part to apply shorthand to his vast stock of writings. I feel overawed by the vast erudition and the catchy literary style that we see in C.R. Boxer's writings,

but perhaps I shall only make one remark, and that is, there was one group among the Goan natives that had caught eye of the Portuguese (shall I say 'more than the eye?') and that seems to have been the only group that has so far attracted the attention of Professor Boxer as well. The solution to the riddle will be found by those who are familiar with Professor Boxer's studies on 'Portuguese *fidalgos*'.<sup>12</sup> As to other historical works of this period, they try to do justice to the native people, but often there is too much political passion in them, reducing greatly the desirable historical objectivity based on sufficiently wide and accurate documentary evidence. There are surely some praiseworthy exceptions, and among these I would place B. G. D'Souza's *Goan Society in Transition*. However, it being a doctoral dissertation in Sociology, the author's approach takes him more into generalizations valid for medieval Indian society as a whole, rather than into concrete details of the life-conditions of Goan society.<sup>13</sup>

The Portuguese official chronicles and the State papers are of little help, and we find A.C. Teixeira de Aragão voicing this deficiency in Indo-Portuguese historiography: 'Past historians who wrote on Portuguese India cared to describe only the military feats of the Portuguese and the efforts spent in spreading Christianity. Mighty little has been done to describe the usages, customs, and nature of the natives, the civilizing influence of our rule, the institutions, privileges, and economic administration, and all that characterized the social relations between the rulers and the ruled'.<sup>14</sup> The documents which he culled from various archival repositories, including the Goa Archives, and published in the third volume of his *Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas* are surely a great help to study the market economy that directly affected the economy of the capital city of Goa, and only indirectly the outlying jurisdiction. However, these records do not help us to form more than a vague idea of how the monetary policies of the Portuguese affected the daily life of the rural inhabitants. All that one can conjecture is some sort of impact upon the sale of the surplus products of the countryside in the city market, as well as upon the tax-revenue collected from the countryside by the central administration. We have luckily well preserved city municipality records as well as records of the village communities to provide more detailed information that can take us closer to the common man's reality in his rural setting.<sup>15</sup> But we also have valuable Church records that can help

us in this task. It was the new religion that brought the colonial presence of the Portuguese in closest possible contact with the native population. Let me therefore expose the modalities of this interaction and then proceed to analyse the value of various Church records which have preserved for us accounts of that interaction or data that can be put together to achieve our purpose of resurrecting the history of the people of Goa.

### *Church Organization and Activity in Goa*

It was only after Goa was made the headquarters of the Portuguese activities in the East that the Church organization also gained in complexity and importance. It was made suffragan diocese in 1533 and raised to the rank of a metropolitan archdiocese in 1557. Further titles followed in the course of centuries. Hence, from the beginning and at successive stages the Church of Goa was headed by Vicars General, Apostolic Commissaries, Bishops, Archbishops, and Patriarchs. This last title was granted in 1886. They were not necessarily appointed for life, but most of them died in office. A great majority of them belonged to the Religious Orders, generally Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans. This was so, because the Religious Orders dominated the missionary field till their suppression in 1834-5.

As we have just said, different Religious Orders had established their missionary headquarters in the capital city of Goa, but of these we need to single out the Jesuits and the Franciscans for the intensity of their labours in the capital and rural areas of Goa. The Dominicans helped somewhat in the island-taluka surrounding the city, but the Jesuits had an exclusive hand in the establishment of the Church in Salcete, and so did the Franciscans in Bardez. The Church of Goa, which had begun with one parish in the capital city, had extended by mid-17th century to form as many parishes as the village communities in the three talukas that made the 'Old Conquests' of Goa.<sup>16</sup>

The expansion, organization and working of the Church in parishes was closely linked with the prevailing socio-economic factors. It may be interesting to note that it was the high rate of mortality caused by an epidemic in the city of Goa in 1543 that led to the breaking-up of the original single parish into four.<sup>17</sup> The multiplication of the parishes village-wise also depended upon the

number of the faithful and the financial viability of the area to maintain the cult. It may be said in this connection right away that the Portuguese crown was bound by its duties of Crown Patronage to maintain the Church institutions and the cult in the East, but it got the natives not only to pay for these, but even to finance the wars for the survival of the Portuguese presence in the region.<sup>18</sup> In the proceedings of the State Council that voted for the extraction of such *donativos* (euphemism for compulsory payments) we find mentioned time and again that endangering Portuguese rule was tantamount to placing the Christian faith in jeopardy.<sup>19</sup> Returning to our theme of parish-organization there was the caste-division of the society which remained crystallized in the religious confraternities or *Confrarias* which played a prominent role in popularizing the new cult and in helping it to gain roots in the native soil.<sup>20</sup> It was through these bodies that petty cases of justice were settled in the villages, discouraging thereby the tendency of the natives to sue each other into misery for most trivial reasons. It was again through these bodies that acts of charity were practised towards the destitute of the village, and particularly worth praising were the steps taken in some villages to provide seed loans to peasants in need during the sowing season, saving them thereby from the clutches of the village moneylenders.<sup>21</sup>

It may be asked if opportunity was given to sons of the soil to join in the responsibility of attending to the pastoral needs of their countrymen. More than a required number of natives were trained as secular priests in the training-houses run by the religious, particularly by the Jesuits. However, as long as the religious remained in effective control of the Church in Goa, the native clerics had to remain contented with subordinate roles. We find cultural prejudices and political insinuations reflected in the reports submitted by the religious to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Lisbon and Rome to evade instructions requiring a better deal for the native clerics. The attachment of the religious to their revenue-bringing parishes also played its part in their refusal to hand over the administration of these parishes to the native clerics.<sup>22</sup> Hence, there was much more than just a slip between the legislation of the time and the actual practice. However, the dissatisfaction of the native clergy contributed substantially to building up resistance to Portuguese rule. We have records of grievances sent to Lisbon by the village communities of Goa, and we know that there were native clerics

who helped the drafting of these grievances.<sup>23</sup> It is also well known that on more than one occasion the native clerics led movements of public discontent against Portuguese rule.<sup>24</sup> It is sufficient to note here that as a result of the conflict between the sincere needs of the Church and colonial interests there arose an intellectual elite conscious of its rights but with little scope for their fulfilment.

To conclude this section I wish to discuss briefly three other institutions which might be considered secular in their origin, but were manned largely by ecclesiastics or performed very much of religious or spiritual functions. In their order of establishment these were: 1) Father of the Christians; 2) Inquisition; 3) Board of Conscience.

1) Father of the Christians or *Pai dos Christãos*, as he was called, was generally a Franciscan in Bardez and a Jesuit for the remaining jurisdiction of Goa. His task was to promote conversions to Christianity and to look after the spiritual and material welfare of the new converts. Rev. Dr Wicki has made available to us in published form the documentation that was available in the Goa Archives regarding the activity of the Father of the Christians in Goa.<sup>25</sup> The documentation relating to this institution covers many details of socio-economic nature such as payment of tithes, administration of justice, customs of inheritance, employment of poor and orphan converts, liberation of slaves, and so on.

2) The Inquisition played a formidable role in Goa and has been branded as the worst of all that functioned anywhere in the world.<sup>26</sup> Apart from certain published reports of eye-witnesses and victims, particularly of the French doctor Dellon, all that is left of the documentation of that institution are a few stray files in the National Archives of Lisbon and an inventory book in the same repository giving a complete list of the condemned and acquitted from the time of its inception till 1774.<sup>27</sup> The total number had reached 16,172. It included persons of different nationalities, but nearly three-fourths were Indians almost equally represented by Christians and non-Christians. Many of these Goan natives were hauled up for crossing the border and cultivating lands in the mainland.<sup>28</sup> The prevailing system of property relations in the village communities of Goa and the ever-increasing burden of Portuguese taxation left no other alternative to many Goan peasants but to leave their homes and go to cultivate lands in neighbouring Muslim lands. The Inquisition watched over the purity of faith but did not suggest anything constructive to remedy the economic distress of the social

groups which had no say in the administrative structure of the villages.

3) The Board of Conscience or *Meza da Consciencia* was not exactly a distinct institution because it was an activity of the Inquisition itself. It started functioning from the early days of the Inquisition in Goa, but it had ceased to exist when Francisco de Souza wrote his *Oriente Conquistado*. The author tells us sarcastically that being a board of conscience it was bound to be short-lived in India where consciences are upset more easily than stomachs.<sup>29</sup> As we know from the documentation relating to the Inquisition published by A. Baião, there were conflicts between the officials of the Inquisition and the civil authorities, including viceroys, who resented the interference of the Inquisition.<sup>30</sup> However, the Inquisition being an institution of somewhat hybrid nature, neither fully secular nor fully ecclesiastical, it had apparently won the confidence of the natives. Besides, Lisbon consistently took serious note of the reports that went from the Inquisition.<sup>31</sup> We read in a memorandum sent by the general assembly of the village communities of Salcete to the crown in 1643: 'It is impossible for the people of this land to find justice, because their enemies are too powerful. . . . We request that the officials of the Holy Inquisition be entrusted with the task of conducting a secret inquiry into all that has been exposed in this memorandum, because no one here can dig into such dirt without fearing reprisals'.<sup>32</sup> In the appendix to the same memorandum they repeat: 'We request your majesty that if any inquiry is instituted it should be entrusted to the Board of Conscience formed by the officials of the Holy Inquisition, because that is the only body that can be trusted with a mission of doing fair justice'. Hence, it is not surprising that the continuance of such a body was irksome to colonial interests.

#### *Source-Value of Church Records in Goa*

After reviewing briefly the organization and activity of the Church in Goa we are now in a position to appreciate the source-value of various records that have survived of this activity. It is not possible for me to present here any exhaustive survey of these records, and all that I shall try to do is to delve into a somewhat detailed analysis of some select records that are available in the Goa Archives, in the Patriarchal Archives and in the parishes.

There are many scattered references to Church activity in the State papers, but however useful they may be for our purpose, I shall limit my attention to those records only which once belonged to the Religious monasteries and were transferred to Government archives following the suppression of the Religious Orders in 1834. The records of the Jesuits had been taken over by the Government even earlier, namely at the time of their suppression in 1759. All these records bound into nearly 400 volumes are still awaiting a scholar who may decide to use them to study the impact of the activity of Religious Orders upon Goan economy. I was able to use these records to draw a graph indicating *price-rates of essential commodities* in 17th century Goa for the purpose of my doctorate dissertation. I could do it with the help of the day-to-day accounts showing item-wise income and expenditure of the religious houses. Unfortunately there are no such account books for the period prior to the 17th century, and even these are more or less complete only for the Augustinian monastery of Our Lady of Grace. These same ledger books can also provide information regarding employment and wages of artisan and menial labour in service of the religious. One gets even such interesting details as the cost for extracting a tooth,<sup>33</sup> or the reward paid to a slave-retriever to get a slave back.<sup>34</sup> The same account books and the books containing the title deeds of landed properties can help us to study the impact of the concentrated *capital* of the Religious Orders. Their capital came partly from endowments and legacies, but it was also to a large extent reproduced through investment in trade and through industrious methods of farming. Trading in real sense was banned for the religious, but they always explained their activity as exchanging the surplus of their various mission posts. However, there is documentary evidence to show that whatever exchanging was going on did not always differ much from trading.<sup>35</sup> But the very fact that the religious could not very openly and intensely indulge themselves in trading, their accumulated capital began disturbing the rural economy of Goa long before the decline of the Portuguese Goa-based seaborne trade forced the lay Portuguese settlers to seek safer investment in village lands. However, the latter were no match against the spiritual control and the concentrated capital of the religious, and this frustration of the lay settlers can be seen reflected in the constant complaints to the crown. The municipal councillors were writing to Lisbon in 1603: 'If this State of India is

lost, it will be solely because of the Society of Jesus. . . . They are absolute masters of a great part of this island, most of which they have purchased, and at this rate there will be no house or palm-grove left which will not be theirs within ten years from hence. The Portuguese settlers find themselves impoverished, because they have no lands to invest in, and whatever capital they had they have lost it in the sea. The income which the Fathers derive from their properties in Salcete alone should be sufficient to support all the religious houses that we have here'.<sup>36</sup>

The success of the religious in farming excited much jealousy of the lay Portuguese settlers. The Jesuits in particular had more than doubled the output of their lands through their more rational approach to cultivation. We know, for instance, that the three villages of Assolna, Velim and Ambelim were valued in 1578 at 2010 *xerafins*. They were then given as a grant to the Jesuits. By 1635 their yield was assessed worth 5500 *xerafins*.<sup>37</sup> The consolidated plots and large palm-groves of the religious also gave rise to a type of bonded labour known as *mundkars*, who were bound to the land as a result of small loans which they could hardly repay.<sup>38</sup> There are indications that the religious were benevolent to their *mundkars*,<sup>39</sup> but the lot of these must have taken an unhappy turn when the suppression of the Religious Orders pushed them into the hands of new secular landlords.

In addition to what I have said about the impact of the accumulated moneys of the religious, the papers of the suppressed convents also yield information regarding *loans, rates of interest, and the nature of goods pawned*. An inventory made of all the moneys and properties of the various houses of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese East in 1759 shows that five houses in Goa alone had given out loans worth over 350,000 *xerafins*. Their major customers were the general assemblies of the village communities and also some individual village communities, which mortgaged their lands against these loans to satisfy the exactions of the State. The general assembly of Bardez had borrowed 100,000 *xerafins* from the professed house of Bom Jesus at an interest of 5%, while the general assembly of the Salcete villages had taken a loan of 62,200 *xerafins* from the same house for 6% interest. It is interesting to note that the Jesuits, who have been maligned for being religious fanatics and champions of the anti-Hindu drive in Goa, had given 23,800 *xerafins* as loans to several Hindus residing in Cumbarjua.<sup>40</sup>

To conclude my presentation of the Church records in Goa archives I wish to introduce yet another manuscript entitled *Cartas de Alforria aos Escravos*.<sup>41</sup> Slavery had been a common feature in Goa much before it became a profitable trade for the Portuguese in the Americas. Pyrard has left for us a vivid and lewd description of the slave-market of Goa in the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>42</sup> He also tells us that Goan natives were not enslaved because of a privilege they had secured from the crown.<sup>43</sup> However, even without such a privilege it would not be easy to enslave Goan natives in their own territory where they could easily escape, and we do not know whether any were included in the West-bound cargoes. But the Public Revenue Department had a resolution passed in 1646 to send as many *corumbins* from Goa as possible to cultivate lands in Ceylon.<sup>44</sup> We do not know in what capacity they were to be sent or whether they were sent at all, but it can be inferred from the manuscript I wish to introduce here that a good number of slaves recorded therein belong to the *corumby* and *chardo* caste groups of Goa.

The manuscript containing 112 folios is a register describing the deeds of obligation drawn by various Fathers of the Christians during the years 1682-1759 and signed by the slave-owners binding themselves to set their slaves free within a maximum time-limit of ten years. This register contains nearly 350 such deeds. A great majority of the slaves are from across Goa's borders as can be inferred from their designations *gatal* and *balagaty*. Nearly two-thirds of these are females of an average age of twenty. Several of these deeds also refer to orphan children handed over by the Fathers of the Christians to the care of certain families under condition of teaching them good manners and the Christian doctrine, treating them well in their infirmities, training the boys in some suitable skills, and giving the girls in marriage at the appropriate age.

In the midst of cruelties to which the slaves in Goa were often subjected by their owners, the concern shown by the Church brought them some solace in their sufferings and some hope. It was only in mid-19th century under British pressure and the wave of liberalism in Portugal that slavery was finally abolished, but by then their number had dwindled very considerably, and in 1853 all the three talukas of the Old Conquests of Goa did not have more than 100 slaves.<sup>45</sup>

*Church Records in Patriarchal Archives*

It is unfortunate that the bulk of early records from the Patriarchal Archives is lost to scholars. In response to an order of the home government, the Archbishop of Goa Francisco da Assunção e Brito handed them over to be shipped to Portugal in 1775. It is not known where they finally landed.<sup>46</sup> But this does not seem to have been the only occasion when records left the central repository of the Church records in Goa: Archbishop José Maria da Silva Torres, who governed the archdiocese during 1844-49, had taken away the records covering the period of his administration for the purpose of writing his autobiography, and we do not know if they ever came back.<sup>47</sup> The bulk of the earliest records that are now available in the Patriarchal Archives belong to the late 18th century. The consultation becomes tedious due to lack of proper classification and of a systematic inventory of the holdings.

Very useful from among the other records of this repository is a series of codices entitled *Rois das Igrejas* (Church rolls) dating from 1773. They carry yearly certificates issued by the priests in charge of various parishes indicating the total numbers of the faithful and providing various interesting details regarding their age, health, sex, reception of sacraments, employment outside the village, and so on, which are invaluable for a demographic historian.

There are also about a dozen files classified as *Varia Documenta* which contain miscellaneous documents, including some of interest to the theme of the present study. These are applications submitted by individuals in need, asking economic assistance by way of alms or dowries for their daughters.<sup>48</sup> Although these and some other such records will have to be tapped for writing the kind of history of Goa I am advocating here, I shall introduce in more detail just one series of manuscripts entitled *Visita Pastoral*.

These manuscripts are registers of statements signed by sworn witnesses and taken down by the notary assisting the Archbishop or his delegate during the visitation of the parishes. It is customary in the Catholic Church for the Bishop to go round every few years, or as need may require, visiting every parish of his diocese to inspect the state of faith and morality of the faithful and to encourage them to do better. In Goa the non-Christians, who lived in predominantly Christian areas, were also subjected to these checks in so far as their activities could influence the Christians.

The Bishop ordinarily appealed to the secular authorities to execute his sentences over non-Christians, but as to Christians he checked the record of their objectionable behaviour and determined the penalties to be executed through the parish priest, or through his own assistants if the parish priest himself was in need of correction. The abuses revealed by the sworn witnesses refer to non-observance of religious practices or to lack of decorum in the practice of religion, and to such socio-economic-moral problems as drunkenness, usury, labour exploitation and prostitution.

Our records covering the years 1747-1927 are bound in 19 volumes of an average number of 300 folios. It may be noted that each of these volumes is made up of two originally separate books which still retain their original independent numbering of folios. I have culled out bits of information from the first six codices to give an idea of the source-value of these records for reconstructing the Goan past centred around village life.

(a) *Abuses in the practice of religion*

The parish priest of Chandor (Salcete) in 1755 is denounced by his parishioners for refusing to attend to the burial of the daughter of a widow who did not have four *xerafins* to pay the burial fee. The funeral was delayed until 6 p.m. when a charitable man of the village offered to pay the amount on behalf of the said widow.<sup>49</sup> The same priest is also accused of having refused to do the christening of the child of a poor *kunby* until he pawned his hoe to borrow half a *xerafin* to pay the priest.<sup>50</sup>

The parishioners of Siolim expressed their unhappiness over the behaviour of their assistant parish-priest in 1760. He was accused of forcibly collecting gifts from the parents of the girls who were to be approved for marriage. One of the complainants had to part with broilers worth one *xerafin*, and another had to give away a pigling costing four *xerafins*. The same priest is accused of drawing up a list of chickens and piglings the parishioners had, on the occasion of visiting their houses for the annual Easter blessing.<sup>51</sup>

(b) *Drunkenness*

A certain Atanasio Menezes, a married man residing in the Ganapoga ward of Rachol (Salcete) was denounced for drinking

day and night. He was also accused of using his job of assistant to the police inspector of the area to pay for his drinks by extorting small cash from the poor peasants.<sup>52</sup>

This is one vice of which the clerics are accused with more frequency in the proceedings of the pastoral visits. Apparently, when other pleasures of the flesh were denied to them, the clerics seem to have taken the recommendation of wine by St. Paul a little too seriously. The parish-priest of Velsao (Salcete), for instance, is accused in 1748 of drinking so excessively as to be incapable of doing his duty of celebrating Mass for his parishioners even on Sundays and days of obligation.<sup>53</sup>

(c) *Usury*

There are plentiful references to usury in these records and this frequency perhaps rates next to prostitution.

In 1747 certain Portuguese military officials are accused of lending money to poor peasants of Jua island during the sowing season for exorbitant rates of interest. Money was lent in June to be paid back in November along with two measures of paddy per *pardao*. There were two Hindu ladies, namely Chimnea Parbu from Santa Luzia and Tuka Bamana from Cumbarjua, who were also lending money to those peasants and demanding one *kudav* of paddy per *pardao* of loan. Considering just the lesser demand of two measures, the moneylenders were collecting 148 *xerafins*, 1 *tanga* and 40 *reis* more than their due of 41-3-20 per every 1000 *xerafins* of loan at the legitimate interest of 10% and at the market paddy price of four and half *xerafins* per fardel of 5.95 *kudav*.<sup>54</sup>

Cases of usury were also recorded against several men from Mormuganv (Salcete) in 1755. They were accused of lending say six *kudav* of rice in May to collect seven at the harvest time, which involved a profit of nearly 48%. Some were also lending cash in the months of January-February to be repaid in rice during the months of April-May at the rate of four to four and half *pardaos* a fardel.<sup>55</sup>

(d) *Exploitation of labour*

The parish-priest of Betalbatim (Salcete) was accused in 1748 of having beaten up a *ganvkar* named Andre Afonso, who had

refused to bring his plough to work on the parish-priest's fields, because the Fathers paid less than others for the same work.<sup>56</sup>

The parish-priest of Colva was accused that same year of mercilessly beating a poor man whom he had sent to Goa with a basket of mangoes and had returned without the basket and could not account for six mangoes which some soldiers had taken away.<sup>57</sup>

(e) *Prostitution*

In this matter Goa was no exception to what normally happens in places where military camps or garrisons are located. It may be noted that most of the women involved in prostitution were of low castes. Many of those found in Salcete had come from Bardez to work as cooks or house-servants. Though there were individual women offering their services freely, there were also ladies running organized brothels employing Christian and non-Christian maids.<sup>58</sup> One comes also across the allied problem of abortion.<sup>59</sup>

(d) *Church Records in the Parishes*

I could not visit more than six parishes of Salcete to consult parish archives, but from this limited experience it was sufficiently clear that the keepers of those parish records were more serious in guarding the keys that kept the records safe from human visitors than in protecting them against insects and rats. With the exception of the records of the town-parish of Margao, the records in the five other village-parishes were in a sad state of preservation. All that they kept in good conditions were the registers of births, marriages and deaths, which in most of the parishes date back to 1880s. The value of this sort of records cannot be minimized,<sup>60</sup> but there are older records going back to mid-18th century in some parishes, like Benaulim, Navelim and Margão, and which deal with the economic administration of the churches and the cult. These records of the *Fábrica* and *Confrarias* need to be salvaged with some urgency. The parish archives also have the manuscripts of the proceedings of the administrative boards of the parishes (Junta Administrativa) containing very useful information on the socio-economic history of the parishes. There are also the *Rois*

da *Cristandade* giving details of age, sex and family status of the parishioners.

## NOTES

1. C. R. Boxer's authoritative and popular works, with an eurocentric approach to the history of the Portuguese empire, may be considered responsible for the propagation of this myth in the English-speaking world. Cf. n. 12 *infra*. However, it also goes to the credit of Boxer to have destroyed some other myths, for which he earned the wrath of the Portuguese nationalist historians at one time. I am referring to the reactions to his *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963). Cf. Portuguese reaction in *Studia*, n. 12 (July 1963) 549-54. Boxer was a *persona non grata* in Portugal until the political change of 1974.
2. Collis, M., *The Land of the Great Image*, (London, 1946) p. 32.
3. Goncalves, J. J., *Síntese Bibliográfica de Goa*, 2 vols. (Lisboa, 1966-7).
4. De Souza, T. R., 'Hindu Entrepreneurship in Goan History,' *Goa Today*, (Jan. 1978) pp. 15, 18.
5. Couto, D. de, *O Soldado Prático*, ed M. Rodrigues Lapa, 2nd ed. (Lisboa, 1954) p. xx.
6. Devi, V., and Seabra M., *A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*, I (Lisboa, 1971) pp. 118-20.
7. De Melo, C. M., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India*, (Lisboa, 1955), p. 175.
8. For a most complete list of Cunha Rivara's works cf. N. V. Abreu, *Noção de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa*, (Nova Goa, 1874).
9. *Ibid.*
10. Xavier, F. N., *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*, (Nova Goa, 1852) II, p. 182.
11. Pissurlencar, P. S. S., *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na Índia*, (Bastora, 1952).
12. Boxer, C. R., 'Fidalgos Portugueses e Bailadeiras Indianas', *Revista de História*, (São Paulo) no. 56 (1961) pp. 83-105.
13. D'Souza, B. G., *Goan Society in Transition*, (Bombay, 1975).
14. Teixeira de Aragão, A. C., *Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas*, III, (Lisboa, 1880) pp. 78-81.
15. De Souza, T. R., 'Portuguese Records for Indian History at Goa and Lisbon', *The Indian Archives*, XXV, n. 1 (Jan-June 1976) pp. 24-36.
16. Coutinho, F., *Le Régime Pároissal des Diocèses de Rite Latin de l'Inde*, (Louvain, 1958) p. 40.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
18. Xavier, F. N., *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*, II, pp. 65, 67, 71-2, 91, 107, 125.
19. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, ed. P. S. S. Pissurlencar (Bastorá, 1955) III, p. 342; (Bastorá, 1956) IV, pp. 78 93ff., 412.

20. Rocha, L. da, *As Confrarias de Goa*, (Lisbon, 1973) p. 2.
21. *Documenta Indica*, ed. J. Wicki (Rome, 1964): VIII, pp. 83-4; (Rome, 1972) XIII, p. 614.
22. De Melo, C. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 244-51.
23. *AHU*: India, *Caixa* 15, doc. 110. The two priests chosen as procurators by the general assembly were Antonio de Pinho and Estevão da Gama.
24. Bishop Matheus de Castro in the 17th century, and several priests involved in the *Conjuração dos Pintos* in the 18th century.
25. Wicki, J., *O Livro de Pai dos Cristãos*, (Lisboa, 1969).
26. Baião, A., *Inquisição de Goa*, I (Lisboa, 1949) p. 15.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-94.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-83; *AHU*, India, *Caixa* 41, doc. 32.
29. Sousa, F. de, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo*, II Bombaim, 1886) p. 33. It was first published in Lisbon in 1710.
30. Baião, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 72, 86-7, 102, 107, 123-8.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.
32. *Cf. supra* n. 23.
33. *HAG*, Ms 4477, fl. 16.
34. *HAG*, Ms 4395, fl. 34v.
35. *HAG*, *Ordens Regias*, II. fls. 48v-49; *ARSJ*, *Fondo Gesuitico* 74-B/9, 1443; *AHU*, India, *Maço* 6, doc. 5 (March 11, 1755).
36. Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, I, P. 2, p. 128.
37. *HAG*, *Monções* 19 C, fl. 734v.
38. *HAG*, Ms 3038, *passim*, various contracts of *munda*.
39. *Broteria* (Lisbon), Photocopied documents from the Royal Archives of Belgium, Box 77, Bundle n. 1, fl. 23: contains orders of the Provincial of the Jesuits, Antonio de Almeida, in 1656 to the Brother in charge of the palm-grove, in Cortalim. He is to give alms to the poor needy *mundkars*.
40. *HAG*, Ms 7602.
41. *HAG*, Ms 860.
42. *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, II, ed. A. de Magalhães Basto Porto, 1944, p. 51.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
44. *HAG*, Ms 1164, *Assentos do Cons. da Fazenda*, 1643-7, fls. 164-5.
45. *HAG*, Mss 2976, 2977, 3018.
46. Teixeira de Aragão, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Nazareth, C. de, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, II, 2nd. ed. (Nova Goa, 1924), p. iv.
47. *PA*: *Offícios às Autoridades Ecclesiasticas e Cíveis*, 1858-62, n. 1 (1862). The folios are not numbered. It is a letter of the administrator of the archdiocese to the Archbishop-elect Amorim Pessoa requesting him to contact the brother of the former Archbishop Silva Torres and to bring back the records. Arch. Silva Torres had died in 1854 and the writer of the letter believes that his brother may be able to return the records.
48. The amount granted as alms is 5 *xerafins*. The dowry-grants vary between 25 and 30 *xerafins*.
49. *PA*: *Visita Pastoral*, V-VI, fl. 150v.
50. *Ibid*
51. *PA*: *Visita Pastoral*, VII-VIII, fl. 86v.

52. *PA: Visita Pastoral*, III, fl. 15v.
53. *Ibid.*, fl. 55.
54. *Ibid.*, 4v-8v.
55. *PA: Visita Pastoral*, V-VI, fls. 11, 15v.
56. *PA: Visita Pastoral*, I-II, fl. 117v.
57. *Ibid.*, fls. 110v-111.
58. *PA: Visita Pastoral*, V-VI, fl. 96; IX-X, fl. 95.
59. *PA : Visita Pastoral*, V-VI, fls. 63v-64.
60. Srivastava, H.C., 'Marriages among the Christians of Goa —A Study Based on Parish Registers'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, XIV, n. 2, pp. 247-54.

*Abbreviations:*

AHU=Arquivo Historico Ultramarino (Lisbon)

HAG= Historical Archives of Goa (Panaji)

PA= Patriarchal Archives (Panaji)

## Some Second Thoughts on Indo-Portuguese Historiography

C. R. Boxer

THE POINT OF DEPARTURE for this paper is a short essay which I wrote nearly thirty years ago for the first International Luso-Brazilian Colloquium, held at Washington D.C., in October 1950. Belatedly published in the *Proceedings* of that Colloquium in 1953, it was entitled 'Some Considerations on Portuguese Colonial Historiography'.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, a great deal of water has flowed under the historical bridge since then, as can be seen from the recent survey of Indo-Portuguese historiography in M. N. Pearson's 'Bibliographical Essay', on pp. 161-73 of his *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat. The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1976). In this paper, I shall not attempt to list all the relevant works which have been published during the last twenty-five years, whether good, bad, or indifferent. I will confine myself to discussing a few of them, omitting, save for a brief mention, many others which come within the purview of other participants in this colloquium.

I should also explain in advance that if I sound too dogmatic and too didactic, this is only the expression of my personal opinion. I think it was Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) who commented that historians who acted like Roman Catholic priests, 'condemning here, absolving, and giving absolution there', were 'confusing the sacerdotal with the historical vocation — or words to that effect. This may be so ; but it is impossible to avoid 'value judgements', in a paper of this kind, and undoubtedly all of you will dissent from some of mine. As two high officials at Goa wrote to the Crown in March, 1637: 'os arguidos e arguidores por não sermos confirmados em graça, estamos sujeitos às misérias de que todo homem é composto'.<sup>2</sup>

Before discussing any of these works, it may be as well to remind ourselves of the political and intellectual atmosphere in which they were produced. For nearly half a century, Portugal was a dictatorship, whether under Dr António Salazar or under his more open-minded successor, Dr Marcelo Caetano. This fact was obviously a definite handicap in some ways since freedom of expression was curtailed in varying degrees, although books were not subjected to censorship as was the Press. Historians, however, suffered fewer restrictions than many other writers, particularly if they kept to themes and attitudes which the regime regarded as either innocuous or else positively praiseworthy. For example, books on Portuguese overseas expansion proliferated. Many of them were published in well produced and very reasonably priced editions, such as those sponsored by the Agência Geral das Colonias (later renamed the Agência Geral do Ultramar), by the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, and by other government agencies since disbanded or metamorphosed. Of course, these government-sponsored publications included a number of stridently nationalist or otherwise tendentious works. But they also included many sound and scholarly works which otherwise might never have seen the light of day, or which would not have been so well-produced and so reasonably priced.

Dictatorships, from a variety of motives, often act as a Maecenas of culture, if, on other occasions, they prefer a rigorous censorship and rigid suppression. Portugal's *Estado Novo* was certainly not alone in either of these respects. As examples of excellent works produced under dictatorial auspices, which otherwise would never have been produced so well and priced so reasonably, I need only mention two which are of direct relevance to us, one Italian and the other Portuguese. The late Fr. Pasquale M. D'Elia S.J.'s superb edition of the *Fonti Ricciane* (3 vols., Roma, 1942-49), published with the support of Benito Mussolini; and the truly monumental *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (6 vols., Coimbra, 1960-63), edited by the late Armando Cortesão and Cdte. A.C. Teixeira da Mota. The greater part of this magnificent edition was distributed free of charge to university and institutional libraries round the world by the direction of Dr Salazar.

On the other hand, the government of Dr Salazar looked askance, when it did not block outright, the publication of works on sensitive subjects such as the West African slave-trade, the existence

of a colour-bar in Portugal's allegedly colour-blind empire, and Portugal's long history of clerical obscurantism. Moreover, the impartial study of the first Portuguese Republic, 1910-26, or even of the Liberal Constitutional Monarchy of 1834-1910, while not exactly taboo, was not actively encouraged, save, perhaps, in their negative aspects. Professor A. H. de Oliveira Marques, who had personal experience of some of these frustrations, has an interesting discussion of this in his article, 'Revolution and counter-revolution in Portugal: Problems of Portuguese History, 1900-1933' (offprint from *Studien uber die Revolution*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1969, pp. 403-18). The April 1974 Revolution removed all bars and hindrances to free discussion; but it naturally also released a flood of polemical and sometimes rather ridiculous re-writing of history, as well as inducing some rapid coat-changing on the part of several individuals whom I need not name.

Government censorship, whether open or covert, obviously inhibited both writers and publishers, although not to the same extent as the triple civil, ecclesiastical, and inquisitorial censorship, which functioned for most of the period 1536-1780. Nevertheless and notwithstanding all difficulties, commercial publishers *did* continue to produce under the *Estado Novo* some very important works by well-known left-wing intellectuals. I need only mention three which are of direct relevance to us here. António José Saraiva, *História de Cultura em Portugal* (3 vols., Jornal do Foro, 1950-62); Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (2 vols., Editora Arcadia, 1963-71); Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (4 vols., Iniciativas Editoriais, 1963-71). Of less importance, but none the less noteworthy, was the highly controversial and polemical edition of the *História Trágico-Marítima* by Antonio Sergio (3 vols., Editorial Sul Limitada, 1955-56). In his final analysis of the value of the original work, Sergio challenged head-on all the most cherished assumptions of patriotic Portuguese concerning the history of Portuguese expansion. He denounced Afonso de Albuquerque as the most disastrous character in the whole of Portuguese history (*homem que porventura não será nada injusto considerar o mais nefasto de toda a história pátria*). He stigmatized the conquest of Ormuz, Goa, and Malacca as originating continual high crimes and misdemeanours (*inconvenientíssimas origens de desmoralizações e de conflitos, de roubalheiras e de*

*vilanias*). Portugal itself he characterized as a country which worshipped the sham, the showy, the spectacular and the superficial, and which despised the intelligent, the constructive, the reliable, and the solid (*neste país onde se adora a mirabolância e o espectáculo, o charlatanesco e o fumoso, a incoordenação e retórica, desprezando-se o inteligente, o construtivo, a vertebrado, o sólido*). Antonio Sergio (1884-1969), born in Damão, was an old-guard Republican from his youth as a naval officer. He was nothing if not patriotic; but his patriotism did not prevent him from being a severe and at times vituperative critic of his countrymen. In this he resembled two other ardently patriotic Portuguese, who lived for the best of their lives in *India Portuguesa*, Diogo do Couto (c. 1543-1616), and Fernão de Queiroz S.J. (1617-88).<sup>3</sup>

Nor was it only the government of the *Estado Novo* which acted as a Maecenas in sponsoring the publication of many works dealing with the Portuguese expansion overseas. An even greater role has been played by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation at Lisbon, through its enlightened patronage of Portuguese Culture in all its forms. As the recipient of grants from this institution, I may be suspected of *oratio pro domo*, but the list of its benefactions is legion. I will limit myself to mentioning a few of direct concern to our field. The *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* (1960-to date) contains Portuguese and Portuguese-related documents from archives in Portugal and elsewhere. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (8 vols., Lisboa, 1960-78) includes some of the most important Indo-Portuguese material in that National Archive. The *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira* (14 vols., Lisboa, 1960-73) now unfortunately discontinued, although primarily concerned with Luso-Brazilian materials, also contains a wealth of information on Luso-Indian bibliography. This Foundation has also subsidized in whole or in part a great many publications round the world, which are of direct interest to our theme. They include the invaluable *Mare Luso-Indicum*, admirably edited by Professor Jean Aubin (4 vols. to date, Geneva and Paris, 1971-78). Mention should also be made of the series of historical works published by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of the monarchy in Iran, dealing with the relations between Persia and the *Estado da Índia*. They include: Roberto Gulbenkian, *L'Ambassade en Perse de Luis Pereira de Lacerda et des Pères Portugais de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin, Belchior dos Anjos et*

Guilherme de Santo Agostinho, 1604-1605 (Lisboa, 1972); Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *Un Voyageur Portugais en Perse au debut du XVIIe siècle*, Nicolau de Orta Rebelo (Lisboa, 1972), and Jean Aubin, *L'Ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo à la Cour de Châh Soltân-Hosseyn, 1696-97* (Lisboa, 1971). Beautifully printed and produced, the editorial matter is in French; but the documentation for the most part is in the original Portuguese.

In my 1950 paper, I observed (p. 174): 'Ecclesiastical and missionary history are surprisingly poorly represented, considering that, as Diogo do Couto wrote in 1599, "the Kings of Portugal always aimed in this conquest of the East at so uniting the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that the one should never be exercised without the other"'. The Jesuit Chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have found no modern successors among their own countrymen, although foreign writers, of whom the most notable is Father Georg Schurhammer S.J., have been very busy in this field'. The case is now very different, although Fr. Georg Schurhammer remained the *primus inter pares* in this field until his death (2 Nov. 1971).

Contributions by Portuguese ecclesiastical historians are making up for lost time. Among them is Fr. Felix Lopes, O.F.M., with his excellent edition of a seventeenth-century work by a Macaonese Franciscan friar, Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente. Em que se dá relação de algumas cousas mais notáveis que fizeram os Frades Menores da Santa Provincia de S. Tomé da Índia Oriental em a pregação da fé e conversão dos infiéis, em mais de trinta reinos, do Cabo de Boa Esperança até às remotissimas Ilhas do Japão* (3 vols., Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, 1962-67). As can be seen from the long-winded subtitle of this work, which Fr. Paulo compiled at Goa in 1630-36, he strikes a strident note of triumphalism in his *Spiritual Conquest of the East*. An ardent member of the Church Militant, Fr. Paulo consciously or unconsciously echoes Diogo do Couto, when he stresses that the spiritual and temporal conquests must go hand in hand, 'since the weapons could only conquer with the right that the preaching of the Gospel gave them, and the preaching was of little or no use unless it was accompanied by the weapons'.<sup>4</sup> But Fr. Paulo could also criticize the misbehaviour of his compatriots on occasion. The editor has provided an erudite critical apparatus, including an excellent index. Fr. Felix Lopes, O.F.M., has also contributed valuable articles on

Franciscan mission history in the East to *Studia: Revista Semestral* and elsewhere.

Mention of *Studia* brings us to its indefatigable editor, Padre António da Silva Rego, a 'clérigo de São Pedro' (secular priest) who has also edited another serial publication of major importance: *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Índia* (12 vols. to date, covering the years 1499-1582, Lisboa, 1947-58). Continuation of this publication would be invaluable, although it must be pointed out that many of the Jesuit documents included in this series have also been published, and often more accurately from the originals, in the ongoing *Documenta Indica*, scrupulously edited by Padre Josef Wicki S.J. for the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu at Rome (13 vols. to date, covering the period 1540-85, Rome, 1948-75). The annotation in the Silva Rego series is in Portuguese; but in Latin for the Wicki series, which is a stumbling-block to most of us in these degenerate days. If the annotation in the *Documenta Indica* is more thorough, the *Documentação . . . Índia* casts its net wider, since the former is limited to Jesuit material, and the latter includes valuable reports relating to the Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, etc., as well. Both series, while primarily of ecclesiastical and missionary interest, contain a good deal of incidental information about other matters: conditions in the *Carreira da Índia*; the real or alleged misdeeds of viceroys, governors, and other colonial officials; wars and rumours of wars. Naturally, these documents have a good deal about the peoples whom the missionaries were trying to convert, although much of this information is distorted by the eurocentric bias of the great majority of the writers.

The same observations apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the parallel series on Indonesia, edited by the late Padre Artur Basilio de Sá, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia* (5 vols. to date, covering the years 1506-95, Lisboa, 1954-58). The continuation of this series is certainly a *desideratum*; but meanwhile we have the impeccably edited series on the Jesuit mission in the Moluccas, edited by Hubert Jacobs S.J., *Documenta Malucensia*. The first volume, covering the years 1542-77, appeared four years ago (Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome, 1974), and I understand that the second can be expected very shortly. Fr. Jacobs is also the author/editor of a number of other books and articles on the Moluccas, including the bilingual

edition (Portuguese and English) of *A treatise on the Moluccas. c. 1544. Probably the preliminary version of António Galvão's lost História das Moluccas* (Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, St. Louis, U.S.A., 1971).

Before leaving Jesuit historians, whether ancient or modern, a salute must be paid to the memory of the late Georg Schurhammer S.J., and his truly monumental *Life and Times of St. Francis Xavier*, which he virtually completed on his deathbed. Published in German in four awkwardly numbered volumes, *Franz Xaver sein leben und seine zeit* (Herder, 1963-73), two volumes of the excellent ongoing English translation by M. Joseph Costelloe S. J., have already appeared. I shall confine myself here to *Francis Xavier, his life, his times, II, India, 1541-1545* (Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977). As I have pointed out elsewhere (*Times Literary Supplement*, 3 Feb. 1978), Schurhammer's *magnum opus* is not only a monumental biography of Xavier, but a densely documented history of the Portuguese in sixteenth-century Asia. I would particularly direct your attention to Appendix I, pp. 606-77, 'India historians', which includes a masterly section, pp. 607-59, on Indo-Portuguese historiography of the sixteenth century. This is unlikely to be improved in our lifetime, if ever.

Fr. Schurhammer also gives us in this volume (pp. 682-89), the best critical survey to date on the literature of the Portuguese *Carreira da Índia*, or round-voyages between Lisbon and Goa. I will not discuss this topic here, partly because I assume that it will be dealt with by other participants, and partly because I will discuss some aspects of it in my forthcoming Heras Lectures at Bombay. But I would like to call your attention to the fact that one of the best and fullest accounts ever written of a Portuguese 'passage to India' is that by the Viennese Jesuit, Gottfried Laimbeckhoven, later an exemplary missionary in China, where he worked from 1738 until his death in 1787 as Bishop of Nanking. He embarked Lisbon in the *São Pedro de Alcantara*, which left the Tagus on 25 April 1736, and reached Goa on 19 September 1737, after a lengthy stop-over of nearly a year at the island of Moçambique. The account of his voyage is extremely interesting, and illustrated by a chart showing the daily position of the ship and a plate of Moçambique island.<sup>5</sup>

Laimbeckhoven's narrative, which he compiled at Salcete 'nachst Goa' on 31 December 1737, is one of many examples

of the great source-value of the Jesuit letters, not merely for mission history, but also for maritime history and for many other historical subjects. I assume you are all familiar with Fr. John Correia-Afonso S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History. A Study of the Nature and Development of the Jesuit Letters from India, 1542-1773, and of their value for Indian Historiography* (Bombay, 1955 and 1969), so I need not labour this point here. But we must not forget that the published Jesuit letters likewise have their limitations, as do all historical sources in one way or another. The guidelines for this correspondence were laid down by Xavier himself, when he wrote from Malacca (20 June 1549) to the Jesuits in the Moluccas that the contents of their letters should be of 'edifying matters; and take care not to write about matters which are unedifying... Remember that many people will read these letters, so let them be written in such a way that nobody may be disedified'. Due to this strict censorship, these carefully edited and carefully 'slanted' letters, valuable as they often are, must be used with circumspection.<sup>6</sup>

Intended to whip up support for the missions, they often give the impression that things were going much better than they really were. The impression is often given that the conversion of uncounted thousands would be a relatively simple matter, if only there were more missionaries in the field to help reap the potentially rich harvest of souls. By and large, the missionaries of the other Religious Orders took much the same line as did the Jesuits, and for the same reasons—the edification of the faithful at home, and inducing more of them to volunteer for service in the missions overseas.

The combination of this evangelical euphoria with a fondness for round figures and a tendency to use the multiplication-table, frequently resulted in inflated estimates of the number of converts. These euphoric published versions were sometimes so misleading that newcomers to the mission-fields were disappointed to find that the actual situation was much less promising than they had been led to believe. In particular, the figure of 300,000 seems to have exercised a peculiar fascination for many missionary writers and editors. We find it given as the number of converts for Japan in the late sixteenth century, for China at the end of the seventeenth century, and by Alexandre de Rhodes S.J. for Tongking (North Vietnam) alone in 1653. I must plead guilty to reproducing this figure myself without due reflection on occasion. As a corrective, we may note that when the French Vicar Apostolic, Francois Deydier, reached

Tongking in 1666, three years after the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries, he was told by their chief catechist that the real total was about 80,000 for the whole of Vietnam, and that it had not changed significantly in the last few years. Admittedly, this figure is in itself an impressive total when all the circumstances are considered. By 1800, after weathering many vicissitudes, the Church could reliably claim some 20,000 conversions in North Vietnam and some 60,000 in South Vietnam, with a well-trained dedicated indigenous clergy.<sup>7</sup>

If the published relations, narratives, letters and reports by Jesuits from the mission-fields were usually carefully edited and 'slanted' at Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris and elsewhere before publication, those which were intended for the eye of the writer's Superior, or for the General alone, were often quite uninhibited and are correspondingly more valuable to the historian. Occasionally, indeed, they may fairly be termed slanderous, such as the stream of confidential letters which the Portuguese Jesuit, Gabriel de Magalhães and his Italian companion, Luigi Buglio, wrote from Peking to their headquarters at Rome, denouncing their Superior, the famous Adam Schall von Bell, for his (alleged) sexual relations with Chinese boys. Reading this hate-filled correspondence, one is reminded of the seventeenth-century Indo-Portuguese proverb 'The nib of a Jesuit's pen is more to be feared than the point of an Arab's sword'. Admittedly, this was an extreme case; and at one time Magalhães retracted his accusations when he had been severely tortured by the Chinese (on another account) and was in hourly expectation of death. But his penitent mood did not last very long.<sup>8</sup>

On a less unedifying but still controversial note, we may recall that some of the unpublished Jesuit letters from Portuguese India in the seventeenth century show very clearly the tension which nearly always existed between the *Reinois* (i.e. those born in Portugal), and the *Indiatícos*, those born of Portuguese parents in India. Obviously, one must not assume from this confidential correspondence that the Malabar and Goa missions were seething with discontent and discord for the whole of this period; but the tensions were never very far below the surface, despite the impressive façade of unity which the Society of Jesus usually presented to the outer world.<sup>9</sup>

Much more could be said about Jesuit historiography of their missions in Asia, which included, of course, East Africa, as a part of the *Estado da Índia*; but I have neither time nor space to do this

now. Similarly, I cannot deal with the other Religious Orders, or with the secular clergy, but these will presumably come within the purview of other participants in this colloquium. I have no doubt that the controversial topic of the relations between the Portuguese *Padroado* clergy and the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar will be handled by other contributors. However, I cannot forbear to mention that it was a pity the *Padroado* clergy did not share the enlightened views of the Papal Collector at Lisbon, Lorenzo Tramallo, who wrote to Cardinal Barberini (9 July 1633): 'A Dominican priest, a Black African, is leaving for East Africa. I have always been strongly of the opinion that the natives should be promoted to the priesthood, contrary to the great majority of we Europeans who disapprove of this. However, I cannot trust more in them than in St. Thomas who trusted the Indian priests. They have kept the Faith for centuries, although so far distant from the Holy Sec'.<sup>10</sup>

In concluding this section on Church and Mission Historiography, I may add that the best way of keeping abreast of the flood of publications in this field is by consulting two invaluable and on-going serial bibliographies. The classic *Bibliotheca Missionum*, initiated by Robert Streit, O.M.I. in 1916 (32 vols. to date, Aachen & Freiburg im Breisgau), and the more recent *Bibliografia Missionaria*, edited by Giovanni Rommerskirchen, O.M.I. *et al.* (Pontificia Università Urbaniana, 40 vols. to date, 1939-78). The annotation in the former is in German; and chiefly, but not exclusively, in Italian in the latter.

In my 1950 article I made a plea for the desirability of 'more publications of the kind represented by the *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* (8 vols., Nova Goa, 1857-76), and the *Arquivos de Macau* (4 vols., Macau, 1929-41)'. This wish has certainly been fulfilled in great measure, though we can hardly have too many archival publications of this kind. First and foremost, we have the invaluable series of documents published by the late Panduranga Pissurlencar. He not only salvaged the archives at Goa after years of neglect and deterioration, but restored, reorganized, rebound, and housed them, for which all of us must be profoundly grateful. We are also grateful to Dr V.T. Gune for completing and supplementing Pissurlencar's *Assentos do Conselho do Estado, 1618-1750* (5 vols., Bastorá, 1953-57), with his *Supplementary Series* (Vol. I, Part I, A detailed subject Index and Table of Contents, Vol. I, Part 2, *Assentos, 1624-27*, Panaji, 1972). I presume that Pissurlencar's publications are familiar to

most of you, so I need not expatiate on their value here. It is enough to remind you that the *Assentos do Conselho do Estado da India* forms the backbone of any serious study of *Asia Portuguesa* in the seventeenth century, for which they are much fuller than for the eighteenth. The *Arquivos de Macau* series have also been continued with a third series of 19 volumes, Macau, 1964-73. Reference must also be made to the late Luis Gonzaga Gomes, *Catálogo dos Manuscritos de Macau* (Lisboa, 1963), and to his *Bibliografia Macaense* (Macau, 1973), as invaluable bibliographical tools for anyone wishing to delve into the history of the 'City of the Name of God of Macau in China', as it was properly called.

For the other end of the old *Estado da India* we have an excellent bilingual series, *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na Africa Central. Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1800* (Lisboa, 1962- in progress). The latest volume known to me is Vol. VII (1972), bringing the period covered down to 1560. The high standard of the English translation is most commendable. Beginners in researching on Portuguese historical documents cannot do better than by cutting their teeth (figuratively, though not literally) on these documents, since the Portuguese text and the English translation are printed on facing pages. On a smaller scale, but most valuable, is Elaine Sanceau's ongoing edition of the *Cartas de Dom João de Castro*, of which two volumes have appeared so far (Lisboa, 1955, 1975). They are scrupulously annotated and admirably indexed, thus doubling their usefulness.

The long-delayed continuation of the series published by the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, *Documentos Remettidos da India, ou Livros das Monções* (5 vols., Lisboa, 1880-1935), which I (and many others) urged in 1950, has at last got under way with the recent publication of three additional volumes, covering the years 1619-22 (Lisboa, 1973-77). But as Padre Silva Rego will be dealing with this series, there is no need for me to say more. Nor will I mention other similar publications, which will be discussed by other participants.

A few words about some secondary sources. Pride of place must go to V. Magalhães-Godinho's previously mentioned *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1963-71). This truly magisterial work is an expanded and improved version of the same author's 1958 Sorbonne thesis, *L'Economie de l'Empire Portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, S.E.V. P.N., 1969). The one-volume

French edition is that usually consulted and cited by historians; but for those of us who can read Portuguese, the two-volume edition is preferable in every way. It covers more ground, bringing the narrative down to 1640, and it has an additional section on the cereal- sugar- and slave-trades (Parte III, pp. 263-587, 'Economia de subsistencia e mão-de-obra'). In this magnificent work, Dr. Magalhães-Godinho has drawn together the threads which connected Portugal's commercial and maritime empire. He shows how its economic ramifications connected places as far apart as Nuremberg, Antwerp, Lisbon, Mina, Sofala, Ormuz, Cochin, Malacca, the Moluccas and Macau. He has integrated Portuguese economic history with world economic history for the period 1415-1640. He has placed in his debt all students of the expansion of Europe, of the economic conditions which largely motivated it, and of the world-wide economic repercussions and reactions caused or affected by it. The Portuguese edition is most lavishly produced and illustrated; but both French and Portuguese editions lack an index, which can only be deplored with *lagrimas de sangue* ('tears of blood'), in a work which will remain a definitive one *enquanto o mundo durar*.

A leading product of the French school of the *Annales*, Magalhães-Godinho has produced a book worthy of his acknowledged masters, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel. In turn, he has influenced a number of younger Portuguese historians, and this extension of the influence of the *Annales* can only be applauded. It has helped them to avoid the old nationalist rut, in which so many of the older ones were stuck—Costa Lobo, David Lopes, Virginia Rau, Antonio Sergio, and others, duly excepted—including otherwise innovative and perspicacious writers such as Jaime Cortesão. A good example of the new approach is Joaquim Antero Romero Magalhães, *Para o estudo do Algarve Económico durante o século XVI* (Edições Cosmos, Lisboa, 1970).

Quite unaffected by recent historical revisionism was the late Admiral Alfredo Botelho de Sousa's *Subsídios para a história militar marítima da Índia, 1580-1650* (4 vols., Lisboa, 1930-56). This is a conventional narrative history, soundly based on the standard published sources and on the manuscript 'Livros das Monções' in the Archive of the Torre do Tombo. But it suffers from too much attention to trivial details, and from a curious refusal to consult Spanish sources, save only when they are available in Dutch (!) secondary sources. Germano de Silva Correia's even more prolix and

diffuse *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia* (6 vols., Lisboa, 1948-56) is a valiant pioneer effort to bring into focus the part played by European and Eurasian women in Indo-Portuguese history. It is based almost entirely on archival sources, and it contains masses of new material for the period 1500-1720. Unfortunately, it is written in a rambling, discursive style, with numerous asides and interpolations, most of them unnecessary. Some of the author's conclusions, though reached in perfect good faith, are flatly contradicted by his own abundant documentation. Last but not least, it lacks an index, which is quite inexcusable in a work of this type.<sup>11</sup>

A highly productive historian, in whose stream of books, articles, and monographs, it is virtually impossible to keep afloat, is Padre Manuel Teixeira, who has succeeded José Maria Braga and Luís Gonzaga Gomes, as the unofficial (or should it be semi-official?) chronicler of Macau, and of the Portuguese *Padroado* missions in East Asia. Much of his work gives the impression of being produced in too much of a hurry, with repetitions and misprints galore. But he has included vast goblets of original documents in his voluminous works, and he has the most un-Portuguese virtue of supplying his works with indices (in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the term, and not the Portuguese, which does duty for a mere list of contents). Here, I need only refer to his series on *Macau e a sua diocese* (14 vols., Macau, 1940-77), although I have not the slightest doubt that his untiring pen will have produced more works in the last year.<sup>12</sup>

Reverting to the *Estado da Índia* in the narrowest geographical sense of the term, no serious historian can neglect the anthropological background of this meeting-place of East and West. Fortunately, we have an excellent introduction to this subject by Raquel Soeiro de Brito, *Goa e as Praças do Norte* (Lisboa, 1967), which is likely to remain the definitive work for the foreseeable future. I doubt whether art and architecture come within the scope of historiography; but the historian of *Índia Portuguesa* can only benefit from reading Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Chaul, Eine unerforschte Stadt an der Westküste Indiens* (Berlin, 1964), and Carlos de Azevedo, *A Arte de Goa, Damão, e Diu* (Lisboa, 1970).

After years—I might even say centuries—of neglect by foreigners, the history of the old *Estado da Índia* has lately come into its own in the wider world. This sudden, if welcome, interest is of very recent date; but it has originated several excellent Ph.D. theses, which

have subsequently been published. They all make a valuable contribution in one way or another; but I have neither space nor time to discuss them here, and will limit myself to listing those which are published in English.

Tikiri Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612* (Colombo, 1966); Chandra Richard de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617-38* (Colombo, 1972); George D. Winius, *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon. Transition to Dutch Rule, 1638-58* (Harvard University Press, 1971); Niels Steengaard, *Carracks, Caravans and Companies: The structural crisis in the European-Asian Trade in the early seventeenth century* (Copenhagen, 1973); M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat. The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1976); Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1978); M.D.D. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi. Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa* (London, 1973); William Francis Rea S.J., *The Economics of the Zambesi missions, 1580-1759* (Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1976). To which I will add an older doctoral dissertation by Carlos Mercedes de Melo S.J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India, 16th-19th century: An Historico-canonical study* (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955). This is a seminal work, most objectively written, which is not nearly as well known as it ought to be, judging by the fact that even specialists in mission history rarely mention it.

To end where I began, you will find recent trends in Portuguese historiography analysed or reflected in such works as the following, with varying relevance to *India Portuguesa*: Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A Historiografia Portuguesa. Doutrina e Crítica* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1972); Orlando Ribeiro, *Aspectos e problemas da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1972); Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Introdução à história da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* (Lisboa, 1975), especially pp. 40-6, 60; Idem, *Um caso de Luta pelo Poder e a sua interpretação n'Os Lusíadas* (Lisboa, 1976), apropos of the struggle over the Governorship of India between Lopo Vaz de Sampaio and Pero de Mascarenhas in 1527. The Academia Portuguesa da História published the proceedings of a colloquium it organized two years ago on the topic of *A Historiografia Portuguesa anterior a Herculano* (Lisboa, 1977).

## NOTES

1. *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies, Washington. October 15-20, 1950*, (Vanderbilt University Press, 1953), pp. 169-80.
2. Joseph Pinto Pereira and André Salema to the Crown, Goa, 3 March 1937, in C.R. Boxer, 'José Pinto Pereira, Vedor da Fazenda Geral da Índia e Conselheiro Ultramarino del Rei Dom João IV', *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, Vol. VII, pp. 75-118 ((Lisboa, 1942), pp. 101-2.
3. Diogo do Couto, *O Soldado Prático* (texto restituído, prefácio e notas de M. Rodrigues Lapa, Lisboa, Clássicos Sá da Costa, 1937); Fernão de Queiroz S. J., *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceilão*, 1688, (ed. Colombo, 1916), pp. 829-82, for Portuguese text; and S. G. Perera S. J., (ed. and trans.), *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1930), pp. 1003-67, for English translation.
4. F. Felix Lopes, O.F.M., (ed.) *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente pelo P. Frei Paulo da Trindade*, (3 vols., Lisboa, 1962-67), Vol. III, p. 127.
5. *Neue Umständliche Reiss-Beschreibung R. P. Godfredi Laimbeckhoven S. J. . . und gefährliche Schiffart von Genua bis Macao*, (Wien, 1740). Also published in the *Welt-Bott*, IV (ed. P. Probst, Vienna, 1748), Part 28, pp. 64-134, Joseph Krahle, S. J., *China Missions in Crisis. Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his times, 1738-1787*, (Gregorian University Press, Rome, 1964).
6. St. Francis Xavier to João de Beira S. J., and the other Jesuits in the Moluccas, d. Malacca, 20 June 1549, in G. Schurhammer S. J., and J. Wicki S. J., eds., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliasque eius scripta* (2 vols., Rome, 1944-5) Vol. 2, pp. 108-15, especially p. 113; Michael Cooper S. J., *Rodrigues the interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York and Tokyo, 1974), pp. 163-4; C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440-1770* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 94-101.
7. Henri Chappoulie, *Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVIIe siècle* (2 vols. Paris, 1944-48), Vol. I, pp. 153-4, 192, and sources there quoted; *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum, III*, 1700-1815 (Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973), pp. 983-90.
8. 'Relação da prisão e Liberdade do Pe. Gabriel de Magalhães da Companhia em Pekim, Corte do Gram China e Tartaria', Peking, 30 Dec. 1661 (Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisboa, Codice 'Jesuítas na Ásia', 49-V-15s, fl. 1-24), a defective copy. The original, in the autograph of Magalhães, is in the Biblioteca de la Academia Real de Historia at Madrid, as noted by Josef Schütte S. J., *El 'Archivo del Japón' Vicisitudes del Archivo Jesuítico del Extremo Oriente*, (Madrid, 1964), p. 332. Ms. Irene Pih has completed a Sorbonne doctoral dissertation on Gabriel de Magalhães, based on the archival documentation at Rome, Lisbon, and Madrid, which should be published soon. This will advantageously replace the uncritical biographical sketch by Padre António Lourenço Farinha, *Trinta e sete anos nas missões da China* (Cucujães, 1946).
9. For one example out of many which could be cited, see M. Gonçalves da Costa, S. J., *Pe. Jeronimo Lobo. Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos. Edição crítica* (Barcelos 1971), pp. 76-7, 211. This edition should, however, be read

- in the light of the critical review by J. Pereira Gomes S. J., in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, XLIII, (Rome, 1974), pp. 192-5.
10. *Apud* Louis Jadin (ed.), *L'Ancien Congo d'après les archives romaines, 1518-1640*, (Brussels, 1954), p. 556. Cf. also Jacob Kollaparambill, *The Archdeacon of All-India*, (Kottayam 10, Kerala, 1972), and Joseph Thekedathu, S.D.B., *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S. J., Bishop of Cranganore, 1641-59* (Pontifical Gregorian University Press, Rome, 1972).
  11. Cf. C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny, Women in Iberian expansion overseas, 1415-1815. Some facts, fancies, and personalities*, (London, 1975), pp. 10, 63-72, *passim*.
  12. Luis Gonzaga Gomes, *Bibliografia Macaense* (Macau, 1973), is much the best source for the works published by José Maria Braga (pp. 24-8), Manuel Teixeira (pp. 116-21), Pe. Benjamin Videira Pires S. J. (pp. 90-5), which are far too numerous for me to list here, but which are indispensable for the historian of Macao.

## The Portuguese Empire in India c. 1550-1650

Some Suggestions for a Less Seaborne,  
More Landbound Approach to  
its Socio-Economic History

*Anthony Disney*

SOME FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO J. C. Van Leur commented to the effect that historians seemed too often to be viewing Asian history from the very limited perspective of an East Indiaman's deck.<sup>1</sup> Insofar as this criticism referred to explicit assumptions of European superiority it is probably for the most part no longer applicable; but in respect of Eurocentric preoccupations it remains, at least in certain areas, substantially valid. This is demonstrably so with many studies in the economic history of the Portuguese empire in Asia which, while they have in some cases achieved great advances in our knowledge and understanding since Van Leur, have nevertheless been largely confined to the essentially European-orientated themes of maritime trade and communications.<sup>2</sup>

The reasons for this concentration are fairly clear. It has long been a practically unquestioned historiographical assumption that the *Estado da India* was, in its economic aspect, almost exclusively a maritime trading empire, and had very little territorial importance or interest. The notable Indian historian K. M. Panikkar, while he cogently exposed some of the European prejudices that had characterized earlier writing on Europe in Asia, appears to have been particularly anxious to stress the Portuguese empire's alleged territorial insignificance — thereby indirectly reinforcing the traditional emphasis on its trade and shipping.<sup>3</sup> Western economic historians in this field have overwhelmingly maintained these preoccupations. This is doubtless partly because the European documentary sources for the history of Portuguese seaborne commerce

in Asian waters are comparatively rich, and have offered opportunities for fruitful research. Moreover, most Westerners come to this field of history from a background chiefly in Portuguese and general European studies: relatively few possess serious training in Indian history, prolonged experience in Indian society and culture, or competence in Indian languages. In this respect the present generation of foreign students of Indo-Portuguese history is worse off than those before, since the end of empire has also ended for most the opportunity for prolonged residence in India itself.

Before suggesting some of the alternative emphasis that might be placed on research in the field of Indo-Portuguese economic and socio-economic history, it would be useful to consider what may be regarded as characteristic of seaborne as opposed to territorial empires, and the extent to which the *Estado da India* in fact conformed to the former type. In a seaborne empire, where the principal economic *raison d'être* is participation in or exploitation of maritime trade, emphasis will be placed on securing strategic ports and strong points for the domination of sea-lanes, and little importance will be given to occupying territory. Revenue for the imperial government, and profit for both public and private enterprise, will accrue mainly from the proceeds of maritime commerce. A relatively small number of key personnel will be required to administer the bases, conduct the trade, control the ships and perform other essential functions; most of these men will be expatriates from the mother country or co-opted natives, and there will be little need to promote permanent settlements. To defend the shore installations, reliable fortifications manned by small but permanent garrisons will be required, and these will have to be backed up by highly mobile naval forces, preferably with superior morale, technology and weaponry. Good communications by sea both within the empire, and to and from the mother country, must be maintained — and these will be doubly important if, as is likely, the bases are dependent on outside sources for food and other supplies.

A territorial empire by definition embraces extensive tracts of territory, and its owners will emphasize development and exploitation of internal agricultural, mineral, industrial and labour resources. They will be concerned with the control and administration of indigenous populations, and/or the planting of settler

colonies from the mother country, who in turn will have to be governed. Revenues and profits alike will derive largely from the land in the form of rents, tributes and the produce of crown enterprises. Because there will probably be frontiers to protect or even extend, and populations to keep in order, larger land forces will be needed than in a seaborne empire, though a substantial proportion of them will probably consist of militias only mobilized in emergencies. A territorial empire will be more able to survive on its own resources, and therefore less dependent on sea communications, than a seaborne empire. It will probably need to attend to the development of its overland communications system, as much or more than to its sea links.

Of course, European empires of the modern era were never purely seaborne or purely territorial. Normally they began as seaborne trading enterprises ; but then, in the passage of time, provided they managed to establish themselves, they took on an increasingly territorial character. The Portuguese *Estado da Índia* conformed to this model. Originally little more than a series of bases for the domination of intra-Asian sea routes, most of it in the 1550-1650 period still consisted of fortified towns and strongpoints without significant lands pertaining to them, or merely of commercial factories in the towns of Asian rulers. On the other hand, in certain regions the Portuguese came to exercise formal control over quite extensive territory. Much of Ceylon fell into this category in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In India itself, Portuguese territorial domination was concentrated in two areas: the old Goa territories (*velhas conquistas*), and the Bassein-Damão section of the Gujarat coast (*governo do norte*). There were also several areas, varying in size and importance, where a Portuguese presence was substantial enough to constitute a kind of informal dominion, as in parts of Mozambique and South India.

In India and Ceylon regular Portuguese crown revenues emanated primarily from three kinds of sources — seaborne commercial activities (customs duties, sale of monopoly voyages, sale of passports), the land (particularly quit-rents and tributes) and various items under the general heading of sales taxes. A careful study of data drawn from a wide variety of independent sources over the whole period would be required to establish the relative importance of these revenue sources, with any high degree of certainty. However, short of this, an analysis of the estimates given by Antonio

Bocarro for the early 1630's may serve as the basis for tentative conclusions. This shows that in the major Portuguese revenue-producing possessions in South Asia in the early 1630's, crown revenues derived from the land amounted to over 90% of total revenue in Damão, over 80% in Ceylon, 75% in Bassein, 74% in Salcete, 50% in Bardez, 2% in Goa and the Goa Islands and 0% in Diu. Overall at least 31% of crown revenue would appear to have come from land sources in these possessions, as opposed to 47% from seaborne commercial activities.<sup>4</sup> Clearly land revenues were of great importance. They were also tending to become more so, for whereas customs returns were 'very variable and uncertain', land-derived revenue offered much greater stability — except, as it proved, in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup>

The total number of people under Portuguese rule in India by the early seventeenth century was probably between one quarter and one half of a million. If this estimate is correct, it indicates a comparatively small though not insignificant population when compared, for example, with the millions allegedly inhabiting Spanish America at the time of its conquest — though it may be noted that the very high population figures attributed to pre-Columbian America have recently been seriously challenged, and that the disastrous mortalities that accompanied the American conquest did not eventuate in Portuguese India.<sup>6</sup> In India various attempts were made by the Portuguese, from Albuquerque's time onwards, to promote settlement, both to consolidate defence capability and facilitate economic exploitation. The number of Portuguese who became permanent settlers under these schemes was in aggregate small, though the claim made by Viceroy Linhares in 1634 that there were not even 1,000 of them then living in the whole of Portuguese Asia seems hardly credible.<sup>7</sup> However, it needs to be borne in mind that the Portuguese attempted the settlement or re-settlement of Christian Indians and Africans, and even of Hindus, when and where it suited their purpose, and not just Europeans and Eurasians. Viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança granted villages in the Damão district to Christian Abyssinians in the 1550's. This experiment was apparently quite successful. A certain Ambrosio Lopes descendant from Abyssinian settlers, was a benefactor of the local Jesuits in later years.<sup>8</sup> Viceroy Pero da Silva planned the settlement of Goan *Canarins* to grow rice in Ceylon in the 1630's, though this particular scheme was eventually

abandoned through lack of interest from would-be settlers.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, although the *Estado da India* required regular reinforcements of Portuguese soldiers sent out from Lisbon to maintain its offensive capability, these men were seldom available in anything like the numbers required. The state therefore had to rely on locally recruited sepoys and militia. Bocarro's survey of Portuguese Asia in the early 1630's estimates the potential manpower available for defence in each possession, and invariably includes Indian Christians and sometimes also Hindu *casados*, together with their slaves, as well as Portuguese. While there were perhaps about 1,000 serving Portuguese soldiers available at Goa in an average year in the early seventeenth century, estimates of the number of *Canarins* who could be mobilized at Goa as auxilliary troops in time of need vary from about 22,000 to 40,000.<sup>10</sup> Lascar, *Canarim* and Negro recruits were used as expeditionaries as well as for local defence. Indigenous manpower may have played as crucial a role in Portuguese military capability as it did in Portuguese naval capability in early seventeenth century India, or as Indian entrepreneurial interests did in the Goa economy.<sup>11</sup>

Some attention should also be given to the matter of communications. It is indisputable that the Cape route provided the lifeline for Portugal's Europe-Asia trade; but for the conveyance of mail and intelligence the partially overland routes through Persia and the Middle East were utilized probably almost as regularly as the *carreira da India*, and had been since the time of Albuquerque. These latter routes were also fairly frequently followed by individuals or small groups who wished to travel between Europe and the *Estado da India* — and in the early seventeenth century it was even proposed to exploit them for officially-sanctioned trade purposes.<sup>12</sup> The volume of traffic on the *carreira da India* itself markedly declined from about this time, with an average of only two ships a year clearing Lisbon or India through the half century 1651-1700 compared with five a year during 1600-50 and seven in 1500-99.<sup>13</sup> The implications and consequences of this decline for the surviving Portuguese possessions in Asia obviously require more thorough analysis, but at least would appear consistent with the view that the *Estado da India* was acquiring in maturity a less seaborne and more territorial emphasis. It should finally be noted that, if Portuguese imperial interests showed any capacity to expand in the eighteenth century, it was towards the acquisition

of more territory (the *novas conquistas* of Goa, the Dadra and Nagar Aveli enclaves of Damão) and not more trading posts.

It should be stressed that the seaborne commercial aspects of Portugal's economic enterprise in Asia were undoubtedly of fundamental importance, both at the time and in their consequences for later generations. The work of scholars like C. R. Boxer, M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, V. Magalhães Godinho and Niels Steensgaard have in recent years much enhanced our understanding of these aspects. However, on the basis of the foregoing analysis it is arguable that such heavy concentration on the maritime as opposed to territorial impact of the Portuguese has somewhat distorted our view of the *Estado da Índia*. To redress the balance the socio-economic historian of Portuguese India should now consider adopting a less seaborne and a more landbound approach, should ask fewer questions about trade and shipping as such, and more about the extent, nature, and organization of Portuguese occupation of Indian territory, about the exploitation of land and labour, about attempted 'Lusitanization' and the Indian response, and about the structure of Indo-Portuguese society.

The Portuguese territories in India, relatively small and compact as they were and with quite voluminous source materials both published and unpublished available, would seem to offer very suitable subjects for study along the lines suggested. Their general history under Portuguese rule can be sketched out in a few words. The *velhas conquistas*, which were comprised of the Goa islands and the adjoining mainland districts of Salcete and Bardez, covered an area of just over 220 square miles.<sup>14</sup> They included, besides the viceregal capital, a handful of *vilas* or small towns, particularly Rachol, Mormugão, and Panaji, each clustered round a fort, and containing a few Portuguese *casados* among their populations. In the countryside were 62 parish churches, and probably about 100 villages. The whole area had come under Portuguese control by 1543 and, despite occasional alarms such as the invasion by Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1570, essentially remained so until 1961.

The Bassein district which comprised the greater part of the *governo do norte* was ceded to the Portuguese by Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat in 1534 and remained in Portuguese hands until conquered by the Marathas in 1738-39. As well as the walled city of Bassein itself, the district contained several smaller settlements and garrisons with communities of Portuguese, Eurasian and Lusitanized local

Christians. These included, Agashi, Manora, the hilltop stronghold of Asserim, Thana, Bombay and Karanja. It was a well-populated district, although the assertion made in the mid-1660s that there were 2,000 villages is perhaps an exaggeration.<sup>15</sup>

In 1558 the Sultan of Gujarat made an additional major cession to the Portuguese of the city and district of Damão. This area in fact had to be conquered from the local Sidis before effective occupation could take place, but this achieved, it remained, despite sundry invasions, sieges, epidemics, and other vicissitudes, under Portuguese control until 1961. The district contained the towns of Sangens, Danu, Tarapur and Maim, besides some 250 villages. Taken as a whole the *governo do norte* in the 1550-1650 period, which stretched along a sixty mile expanse of coast and penetrated inland for up to thirty miles in places, would appear to have covered an area of well over 1,000 square miles.<sup>16</sup>

The historian of all or any of these regions would need to establish as accurately as possible the precise location and extent of Portuguese-controlled territory in the period concerned, taking the due account of variations over time. He should then endeavour to familiarize himself with the local physical and cultural landscapes. This would involve searching out and perusing modern descriptive accounts, as well as culling the contemporary Portuguese sources. It might well be necessary to consult experts in other disciplines who know the regions concerned — geographers, economists, sociologists, and also geologists, botanists and agronomists. If practicable the student should also take the advice of R. H. Tawney and get 'mud on his boots' — explore the area in person, move among its people.<sup>17</sup>

The nature and organization of production in Portugal's territorial possessions in India, would need to be examined carefully. A fundamental concern would be with patterns of subsistence at small community levels. In the Goa territories the principal village subsistence activities were the cultivation of paddy rice, the care and harvesting of coconuts, and fishing. In the rich Bassein lands rice and sugar-cane appear to have been the principal crops, but there were also fruits and spices of many kinds, including betel and ginger. Damão had abundant rice, and also grew some wheat, and a similar range of fruits and spices.<sup>18</sup> It appears that the Portuguese set out to interfere as little as possible with these subsistence activities.

The Bassein and Damão territories produced substantial surpluses of rice, sugar and other crops, which were exported to such places as Goa, Ormuz and Cambay. Supposedly subject to royal control, they cut teak, a timber used locally for ship-building and home-construction, and exported for the same purposes. From Bassein came an extremely fine building granite. Pyrard remarked of Bassein granite that he had never before seen pillars made of such large blocks and that 'all the magnificent churches and palaces at Goa and the other towns are built of this stone'.<sup>19</sup> There was quite a flourishing weaving industry at Damão, at least before the famine of 1631. Most of these export industries undoubtedly pre-dated Portuguese occupation, but it would be interesting to know the extent to which the Portuguese actively fostered and directed them, and the impact Portuguese needs and policies in this regard had upon various sectors of the local populace, particularly cultivators, weavers and quarrymen.

A considerable amount has been written in the past about some aspects of village society, and in particular about the village communities or *gancarias* of Goa, although most such analyses are now old, dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> These works indicate that much land in the *velhas conquistas* was owned by the village communities, but that its produce was shared out to community members, by the *gancares* or headmen. The system also made provision for non-community members to participate, either by renting surplus community land, or as paid landless labourers.

It appears that the Portuguese, who were anxious to retain the loyalty of the villagers of Goa, tried to protect the authority and customs of the *gancarias* as far as possible, and initially even to reduce the tribute assessments previously imposed on them. Likewise, after the conquest of Damão they sought detailed information on the tributes and conditions of landownership prevailing in the area, and the viceroy promised no changes would be made, or additional burdens imposed.<sup>21</sup> However, modifications in practice seem to have occurred, and for the *velhas conquistas* of Goa even in the first *foral* or charter of 1526.<sup>22</sup> A thorough, comparative, re-examination of this and other *foraes* and *regimentos* concerned with the areas in question, needs to be made.

One apparently new development which resulted from the advent of the Portuguese, and certainly warrants attention, was

the emergence of a new kind of middleman. This was the *lingoa* or interpreter, essential adjunct of every fort and every government or semi-government agency, the indispensable intermediary between the Portuguese authorities and the local populace. The *lingoas* were especially well-placed to promote their own material interests at the expense of others — and this, if their unsavoury reputation is to be believed, they frequently and unscrupulously did. According to the scholarly Jesuit missionary Henrique Henriques, in the mid-sixteenth century, one of the reasons why he and his companions tried to speak Tamil rather than Portuguese as frequently as possible was because 'interpreters, ours as well as those of the captains, received presents and committed other abuses'.<sup>23</sup> It is to be hoped most interpreters were not as outrageous in their behaviour as Agostinho Diniz was said to be. Lingoa and jailor to the captain of the fort of Rachol in Salcete in the early seventeenth century, this man was alleged in 1613 to have long oppressed the local inhabitants — taking their land, harassing them with contrived lawsuits, beating them up, seizing their work-oxen, having sex with their wives and daughters, forcing day labourers to toil without pay, extracting bribes, and giving protection to evildoers, thieves and wizards.<sup>24</sup> Significantly, Diniz was described by the rector of the Jesuit college, who backed up the complaints against him, as a son of poor parents who had inherited nothing, but had enriched himself through the spoils of his office. Yet he had never held leases or any other income-producing resources from the crown, and was not even a *gancar*. He apparently worked with a group of dishonest collaborators which included a son and some brothers, and owed his rise largely to the influence he was able to exercise over the captain, secretaries and bailiffs at the Rachol fort, the district judges, and even fidalgos and High Court judges at Goa. He and those like him, were apparently the forerunners of the '*dubashes*' so characteristic of the French and British settlements in the mid-eighteenth century.

Other important newcomers under Portuguese rule, who made a significant impact on the local socio-economic scene, were the Christian missionaries, and the European and Eurasian recipients of *aforamentos* (leases) on crown lands, and villages. In practice, missionary and lessee often amounted to the same thing, since the religious orders and other ecclesiastical interests acquired many villages, through grants, gifts, bequests and purchases.<sup>25</sup> In theory,

the rights over a village, which included entitlement to its tribute, were granted by the crown in return for a quit-rent, and under certain specified conditions. Since one of the major intentions was to strengthen security, the conditions normally included an obligation to perform military service when required, to maintain horses and footsoldiers for this purpose and, in the cases of Bassein and Damão, to reside in the city. Some *aforamentos* seem to have been granted in emphyteusis but this was against royal policy, and it was apparently more common for them to be conceded for anything between one and four lives.<sup>26</sup> The system probably operated somewhat similarly to *encomienda* in Spanish America—though, unlike *encomienda*, the Portuguese *aforamento* in India remained primarily an instrument for collecting tribute or taxes in kind, rather than in labour. The juridical aspect of the Portuguese *aforamentos* in India is another subject which requires thorough research.

Concern about neglect of the military obligations usually attached to the *aforamentos* was one of the reasons why the crown sought to limit acquisition of villages and lands by church interests. However, these obligations were in any case unenforceable, though the crown repeatedly instructed the authorities in India to impose compliance, on pain of the offenders forfeiting their villages. An official enquiry at Damão in about 1614 indicated many villages had been improperly let without the military requirements, while numerous holders of other villages were not living in Damão as stipulated, but in outlying towns like Tarapur and Maim. It was alleged in 1619 that in Bassein only six or seven of the sixty people obliged to maintain horses under the terms of their *aforamentos*, were actually doing so.<sup>28</sup>

One would like to know a lot more about the holders of these *aforamentos*—their numbers; their origins and status; the extent to which they were in actual contact with their villagers, and their behaviour towards them; how far and in what ways they could be said to have prospered. Not all these questions can even begin to be developed here, and it is likely that the answers to most of them will be complex and varied. For example, while it is clear some holders of villages in Damão and Bassein were absentee *fidalgos* living in Goa or elsewhere, despite the regulations, many others were resident in or near their own villages. In fact it appears that whereas in Ceylon one of the problems was to persuade lessees

to leave the comforts of Colombo and move off into the outlying *korales*, in the *governo do norte* the difficulty was the opposite — to get people back from their country delights, to the city fortresses. It is probable that the status and initial wealth of absentees were greater than those of resident village-holders. Apparently the authorities had difficulty in attracting Portuguese willing to accept *aforamentos* in the Damão district after its occupation in 1559, and consequently only 'poor *casados*' — and insufficient numbers at that — could be found to take them on. Yet the successors of some of these men seem to have done well enough for themselves, such as the 'rich and powerful *fidalgo*' who held the village of Sirgão in the 1630s and, with his family and dependents, maintained his own fort to guard the river approaches to his domain.<sup>29</sup>

The activities of the Christian missions in Portuguese India are, of course, thoroughly documented, and much has already been written about the missionaries, and their many achievements. Because of this less needs to be said about the missionaries here, but their significance was obviously very great in the social and economic life of the territories. From the point of view adopted in this paper, the importance of the missionary sources lies not so much in what they tell us about the progress of Christianization as conceived in the missionaries' own terms, nor even in what they tell us about the politics and personalities of early modern India, but in what they reveal about the nature and impact of a certain kind of European presence on Indian territory and Indian societies, in the years 1550-1650. Such missionary sources would be crucial to any understanding of how the Portuguese, and the Catholic Church, attempted to 'Lusitanize' and 'Catholicize' the peoples they dominated in India, and the Indian response to such attempts. No overall account of these processes in Portuguese India comparable in quality, say, to John Leddy Phelan's now twenty-year-old *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison, 1959) has so far been written. This hiatus would seem to provide an excellent opportunity for scholars with the requisite languages, and the appropriate training, to do some intriguing research, and produce work of absorbing interest.

## APPENDIX

*Summarized Estimates of Crown Revenue from Major Portuguese Possessions in South Asia in the early 1630s (in xerafins)*

					Total	Percentage of Total
<b>GOA AND GOA ISLANDS</b>						
Customs, etc <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	..	280,520	66.2
Sales Taxes <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	..	74,475	17.6
Repayment of debts	..	..	..	..	60,000	14.2
Rents and tributes	..	..	..	..	8,543	2.0
					<u>423,538</u>	
<b>SALCETE</b>						
Rents and tributes			..	..	60,004	74.3
Sales taxes	..	..	..	..	14,700	18.2
Customs	..	..	..	..	6,050	7.5
					<u>80,754</u>	
<b>BARDEZ</b>						
Rents and tributes	..	..	..	..	15,000	50.3
Sales taxes	..	..	..	..	9,070	30.4
Customs	..	..	..	..	5,775	19.3
					<u>29,845</u>	
<b>BASSEIN</b>						
Rents and tributes	..	..	..	..	93,840	75.6
Sales taxes	..	..	..	..	22,800	18.4
Customs	..	..	..	..	7,440	6.0
					<u>124,080</u>	
<b>DAMAO</b>						
Rent and tributes	..	..	..	..	42,499	90.6
Customs	..	..	..	..	3,485	7.4
Sales taxes	..	..	..	..	907	2.0
					<u>46,891</u>	

					Total	Percentage of Total
<hr/>						
Diu						
Customs	..	..	..	..	79,800	100
<hr/>						
CEYLON						
Rents, tributes, etc.	..	..	..	..	36,495	80.6
Customs	..	..	..	..	8,250	18.2
Sales taxes	..	..	..	..	518	1.2
					<hr/> 45,263 <hr/>	
<hr/>						
OVERALL TOTALS						
Customs, etc.	..	..	..	..	391,320	47.0
Rents, tributes, etc.	..	..	..	..	256,381	31.0
Sales taxes, etc.	..	..	..	..	122,470	14.75
Repayment of debts	..	..	..	..	60,000	7.25
					<hr/> 830,171 <hr/>	
<hr/>						

SOURCE : Bocarro, *Livro*, pp. 113-4, 138-42, 178, 266-9 399-403.

(1) 'Customs, etc.' includes proceeds from the sale of the Japan voyage, the *collecta* or tax on foodstuffs, export taxes on horses and other commodities, internal customs, and the customs levied at Cochin, Mangalore and Barcelore, as well as at Goa itself. 'Sales taxes etc.' includes a whole range of items from the levy on tobacco to rents charged on market stalls.

## NOTES

1. See C. R. Boxer in 'Some Considerations on Portuguese Colonial Historiography', *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies*, (Nashville, 1953), p. 171.
2. Sri Lanka has been a notable exception to the general preoccupation with maritime trade history. Here Portuguese sources have been utilized in reconstructing the socio-economic history of the island itself, as demonstrated in the scholarly works of Tikiri Abeyasinghe and Richard Chandra de Silva.
3. K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, pp. 14, 44.
4. See appendix.

5. Antonio Bocarro, 'Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações, do Estado da India Oriental', in *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, ed. A. B. de Bragança Pereira, (Bastorá, 1936-8), Bk. 4, vol. 2, pt. 1 (hereinafter referred to as 'Bocarro'), p. 299.
6. See David Henige, 'On the Contact Population of Hispaniola: History as Higher Mathematics', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 58, no. 2, May 1978, pp. 217-37.
7. For Linhares' comments see Livro das Monções, Goa Historical Archives, Panaji, 19A, f. 96. Early colonization schemes are discussed in A. da Silva Rego, *Portuguese Colonization in the Sixteenth Century. A Study of the Royal Ordinances*, (Johannesburg, 1965), pp. 33-41, 53-8, 62-4, 81-2.
8. Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia*, Lisbon, 1736, dec. 7, bk. 6, ch. 6; *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, ed. A.B. de Bragança Pereira, bk. 4, vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 402; Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo*, (Lisbon, 1710), I, pp. 88-9.
9. T. Abeyesinghe, *Portuguese Regimentos on Sri Lanka*, (Colombo, n. d.), pp.18-19.
10. Bocarro, pp. 223,306; Biblioteca Publica e Arquivo Distrital, Evora, Codex cxv/1-5, p. 13.
11. See M. N. Pearson, 'Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-70', *Mare Luso-Indicum* 2, 1973, pp. 61-73.
12. I am at present preparing a paper for the International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies to be held at Perth, Western Australia, on 15-22 August 1979, on Portuguese overland communications between India and Europe via the Middle East.
13. Figures calculated from tables in C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, (London, 1969), p. 379.
14. Details given here on the *velhas conquistas* and *governo do norte* based on a variety of sources, especially Bocarro, pp. 130-91, 263-307.
15. Manuel Godinho, *Relação do Nova Caminho Que Fez por Terra e Mar Vindo da India para Portugal no Ano de 1663*, (Lisbon, 1974), p. 28.
16. See Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 136.
17. For an engaging discussion of the 'boots' approach to history see W. K. Hancock, *Professing History*, (Sydney, 1976), chap. 4.
18. *Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India*, ed. F. P. Mendes da Luz, Lisbon, 1960, f. 23; J. H. van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* (London, 1884), I, p. 177, II, pp. 58-9; F. Pyrard de Laval, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, (London, 1887-90), II, pp. 256-8; Bocarro, pp. 154, 191; Manuel Godinho, *Relação*, pp. 29, 32; V. Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, (Lisbon, 1963-5), II, p. 409.
19. Pyrard, *Voyage*, p. 257.
20. See A.F. D'Almeida Azevedo, *As Comunidades de Goa*, (Lisbon, 1890), C. R. da Costa, *Les Communautés des Villages a Goa*, (Lisbon, 1892); B.H. Baden Powell, 'The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1900, pp. 261-91; F. Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades*, Bastora, 1903; R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, (London, 1899), pp. 215-20; *Report on the Goa Land Reforms*, (Panaji,) 1964.

21. Couto, *Da Asia* dec. 7, bk. 6, chaps. 6 and 7.
22. The *foral* of 1526 is published in *Arquivo Portuguez - Oriental*, ed. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, fasc. 5, no. 58.
23. Cited in J. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542-1773*, (Bombay, 1969), p. 93.
24. *Documentos Remittidos da India, ou Livros dos Monções*, ed. R.A. de Bulhão Pato and R. da Silva Rego, (Lisbon, 1880)—(hereinafter DRI), III, pp. 323-4.
25. See, for example, DRI I, pp. 279-81, 308-09; II, pp. 190-1.
26. *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, ed. Bragança Pereira, Bk. 4., vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 235, 237.
27. See regimento for Bassein, 1565, in P. Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, Bastorá, 1951, p. 320; instructions regarding Damão, 1615, DRI III, pp. 181-2.
28. DRI III, pp. 226-7, 298; DRI VI, pp. 172-5.
29. Couto, *Da Asia*, dec. 7, Bk. 6, chap. 6; Bocarro, p. 161.

## Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in the Indian Ocean

*G. V. Scammell*

THE RAPID EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN, and especially Iberian power throughout much of the world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a matter of wonder at the time, just as its causes have remained a subject of contention ever since. To pious contemporaries it was simply the inevitable triumph of the True Faith over pagan and infidel. Hernan Cortés wrote from Mexico of his 'just war' against a tyrant emperor and his subjects addicted to unspeakable practices.<sup>1</sup> The chronicler of the golden age of Portuguese imperial endeavour, João de Barros, maintained that freedom to navigate in eastern seas was properly denied those ignorant of Christianity and Roman Law.<sup>2</sup> More recently subtler explanations have been in fashion. The penetration by Portugal (population some 1,500,000) of the maritime economy of Asia supporting populations of millions, and the destruction by Castile (with a population of about 7,500,000) of the Aztec empire (population 28,000,000) and Inca state (population 8,000,000) in the Americas, were the victories of superior morale. The will to win of Europeans overcame the adherents of stoic, passive and pessimistic religions or, as M. Chaunu unkindly puts it, quality triumphed over quantity.<sup>3</sup> Equally all-embracing is the thesis, much in evidence until recent American reverses in Asia, that meat-eating European warriors had a natural advantage over the troops of civilizations whose grain-based diets were deficient in protein, or that Europeans with their superior technology — their firearms, their sailing ships mounting artillery — were the predestined winners in any conflict with those less technologically advanced.<sup>4</sup>

The aim of this paper is to suggest that such arguments have

little to commend them, and that European success derived very largely from the adept exploitation of conflicts and divisions in indigenous societies, and from the securing, one way or another, of indigenous aid. Such behaviour reflects the pragmatism of many European commanders, whose actions speak louder than their masters' (or their own) words. Of none is this truer than of Afonso de Albuquerque, the captor of Goa, who there swiftly pressed into service local dancing girls, musicians, war elephants and mercenaries.<sup>5</sup> But such policies also reflect the attitudes of an age highly conscious — through reviving knowledge of classical Antiquity — of the virtues of statecraft, its practice conveniently codified by Machiavelli. And of course they reflect the willingness of some elements in non-European societies to accept, if not to welcome, alien intruders whether in the hope of gaining an ally against enemies, or the services of European artisans.

Space forbids any detailed examination of the hypotheses already mentioned. We might, however, notice that morale, least of all that of a whole culture, is no easy thing to gauge. Furthermore, where we have reasonably reliable indications of European morale, they frequently reflect a spirit far-removed from some easy expectation of divinely-appointed victory. The celebrated account by Bernal Diaz of his experiences in the conquest of Mexico contains lengthy passages sensing impending doom and anticipating the overthrow of the Spanish cause.<sup>6</sup> The letters of the first Portuguese Viceroy of India (Almeida), and Albuquerque's descriptions of his campaigns against Goa and Aden are full of recriminations, of complaints of lack of support, of the inadequacies of men and materials.<sup>7</sup> True we hear, admittedly from European sources, that the initial surrender of Moslem Goa to the Portuguese was precipitated by the predictions of a holy man that the regime was due to change, and that after its subsequent recapture Moslem confidence was sapped by the prognostications of sorcerers.<sup>8</sup> Yet we should not forget that far from surrendering at the first appearance of European intruders, Maya, Aztec and Inca armies fought hard, and occasionally successfully, in the Americas, whilst the Portuguese penetration of Asia was no sequence of bloodless triumphs, but involved defeat at sea, and rebuffs, amongst others, at Aden (where both Albuquerque and João de Castro failed), Goa and Malacca.

Even less satisfying is the contention of Carlo Cipolla of the omnipotence of European guns and ships. In itself technological

superiority was, and is, no guarantee of military success, and it was against such fierce, elusive and primitive nomads as the Chichimeca of north Mexico and the Araucanians of southern Chile that the Spaniards suffered their worst reverses in the Americas.<sup>9</sup> Certainly artillery, even as crude as that of the early 1500s, had its moment, dispersing opponents as much by its noise as anything else. Albuquerque was saved from difficulties at the relief of Cochin in his early years by gunfire.<sup>10</sup> Cortés, in a moment of crisis, demanded from Mexico, 'horses, arms, crossbows and powder'<sup>11</sup>—the order of precedence is significant. Equally true, there was no artillery of any size in the east when the Portuguese first arrived, apart from that of the Chinese, and some pieces in western India noticed by Albuquerque, and probably of Turkish origin.<sup>12</sup> Nor, since the planking of eastern vessels (those of the Chinese apart) was sewn together and not, as in the west, nailed, could they have fired such weapons without disintegrating. But the imbalance was more apparent than real. Gujarati shipbuilders quickly emulated European techniques of construction, and according to Almeida, ships and galleys 'equivalent to our own' were being built in northern India in 1508.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, by capture or purchase eastern peoples soon had guns, and taught by European renegades of whom there was never any shortage from ill-paid Portuguese service—quickly became expert in their use and manufacture.<sup>14</sup> Diu alone had 100 pieces salvaged from Portuguese wrecks by 1508. Five years later Albuquerque proposed to send home from India a craftsman who 'could make guns as good as those of Bohemia'. Towards the end of the century visitors admired the proficiency of Sri Lankan musketeers<sup>15</sup>, and the English noticed that the vessels of the Achinese—always a thorn in Portuguese flesh—mounted 'very good brass ordinance; semi-canon, culverins, sakers, minions', or in other words a full range of western artillery, and this at a time when many Portuguese ships in eastern waters were still unarmed.<sup>16</sup> Equally worthy of note, is that the return of renegade gunfounders was a bone of contention between Portugal and Calicut, and the restoration to the Portuguese of captured artillery an item in their peace agreement in 1539.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless it is easy to overestimate the effectiveness of such weapons in general, and those of the Portuguese in particular. Crude, cumbersome, ill-maintained (as zealous commanders complained) and slow to fire, they could be overwhelmed by the sheer weight of enemy numbers, as happened

in the Moslem recapture of Goa from Albuquerque. In humid climates they were all too likely to be defective, or, worse still, with their powder wet and their slow match extinguished by tropical downpours, totally useless as a sequence of rainshrouded Portuguese defeats proclaimed. Nor were European gunners necessarily able or willing to fire their weapons, and Nuno da Cunha found that he had to insist not only that his men underwent target practice, but that they were restrained from pawning their guns to tavern-keepers.<sup>18</sup>

But this is not to deny the success of European arms, a success which on land was very often achieved by the use of cavalry. It was deployed to devastating effect by the Spaniards in the conquest of the Americas—curiously enough for a people celebrated at the time as infantrymen. There the horse was unknown, so giving the invaders the advantages of surprise, speed and unpredictable movement. It was ridden by Spaniards in what was termed the 'Moorish style', that is bitted at the neck, using only a single rein, and with the horse controlled by pressure of the knees. The cavalryman appeared to kneel, jockey-like on the back of his mount, so that when he stood up in his stirrups he towered over those on foot. Against closely-packed infantry he would use a sword with deadly effect. And in open country, once the enemy was on the run, he would pursue and spear them by the score with his lance.<sup>19</sup> In both Mexico and Peru small bodies of Spanish horsemen, often no more than dozen or so, time and again scattered and destroyed at will numerically overwhelming indigenous forces of foot-soldiers. Commanders refer to the indispensable role of cavalry; chroniclers record the infantry endangered and the advance halted when no horsemen were available; Amerindian peoples sought to obtain horses for themselves and to cripple those of the invaders.

Similar views were expressed in Portuguese India, and according to Barros the Moslems of Goa used cavalry to maintain their mainland possessions 'which the inhabitants were accustomed to attack'.<sup>20</sup> Whether the Portuguese rode Moorish style is uncertain. They might well have learned to do so in the course of their long years in Morocco or from their Castilian neighbours. That the practice was known in western India is suggested by a reference to Moslem cavalry 'without reins', presumably, that is, without European mouth bits and reins, and it is possible that it was in India that the Portuguese began to ride in the Moorish fashion.<sup>21</sup> That

they had not previously done so might be deduced from Albuquerque's complaint (1510) of his lack of bits, which I take to be mouth bits. In the same year he was buying local saddles in Cochin, and he had in his possession a set of Moslem horse accoutrements captured at Goa, which he describes in such detail as to imply that he was confronted with something entirely new to him.<sup>22</sup> The equipment (and horses) so obtained were quickly employed to good effect. The recapture of Goa was clinched by his mounting his men—Moorish style we might assume—on the horses he had found there to hunt down 'all Moors'.<sup>32</sup> Thereafter the stronghold was defended against renewed attack by Portuguese cavalry 'lance in hand'.<sup>24</sup> The Portuguese had come to enjoy, in a limited area of western India, those same advantages that ensured Spanish success in the Americas. Horses were, of course, known in India, but they were supplied to the south, where they did not breed, from Persia and Arabia. This traffic the Portuguese could, after their capture of Goa, disrupt and attempt to monopolize. They therefore, had cavalry; their opponents were, momentarily at least, unhorsed. Not surprisingly, on the first retreat from Goa, Albuquerque's men killed not only Moslem prisoners but all the Moslem horses they did not need, and when later in the century, there was talk of disbanding Goa's mounted forces, such as they were, a reformer wrote, in terms reminiscent of those of Spanish *conquistadores* in America, of the cavalry 'without which we are of no account to our neighbours'.<sup>25</sup>

Though this involuntary indigenous co-operation aided, it did not ensure Portuguese penetration of the east. There, as is well-known, they met on their arrival no concerted opposition from a world of such size, and of such a variety of races, religions and cultures as to preclude the emergence of any single dominant power. Long distance trade was conducted through a series of entrepôts where merchants and seamen of differing races and beliefs lived pragmatically and in general peacefully together. Major states, like the Ottoman Turks and imperial China, had other interests. The Portuguese quickly appreciated that something was to be gained from friction between Hindus and Moslems, assisted as they were in the capture of Goa by 'some principal men, from whom the Moors had taken lands, and who blocked roads and passes and killed the escaping Moors'.<sup>26</sup> Learning of the divisions in Islam between Sunni Ottomans and Shia Persians, they entertained (vain) expectations of aid from the 'Grand Sophy' of Persia against their

mutual arch-enemy, the 'Great Turk'. Furthermore, though few of the petty Hindu and Moslem rulers of the western littoral of India had anything of a commercial or maritime policy, and none the means effectively to enforce one, the revenues of trade were not beneath their lordly concern. The Mohamedan governor of Diu accordingly abandoned (1508) the 'league of all Moslems', which was to have overthrown the Portuguese, to get the best commercial terms he could, whilst the king of Cochin welcomed them when rebuffed by his fellow Hindu, but ancient rival, the Samorin of Calicut.<sup>27</sup> So too, the first Portuguese attempts on Malacca had support (Moslem included) from within the city, just as their subsequent establishment at Macau had local approval, if not encouragement, whatever the policies of the imperial government.<sup>28</sup>

Such behaviour was a more modest version of that of the Spaniards in America, where, as it seemed to a French observer, the key to their triumphs was that 'when they were employed in their conquests they did always enter into an alliance with some king to ruin another'.<sup>29</sup> In Aztec Mexico, still imperfectly united, its condition reminding Cortés of the biblical truth 'that every kingdom divided against itself is brought to ruin',<sup>30</sup> they won the support of tribes opposed to, or imperfectly subdued by, the Aztecs. Similarly in Peru they took advantage of the war of succession in progress at their arrival, and obtained valuable assistance from those peoples opposing or resisting the Incas.<sup>31</sup> Hence in the years of conquest small bodies of European troops could be converted into impressive armies by the use of indigenous auxiliaries. When Cortés first entered Aztec Mexico he had with him 4,000 of what he described as 'our native allies', soon swelled to (allegedly) 10,000 and even 150,000.<sup>32</sup> Some were simply porters or labourers, but many were fighting men who rendered invaluable service at the capture of the Aztec capital and elsewhere. Later in the century other indigenous auxiliaries, under their own officers, were used by the Spaniards. 'Pascac, captain-general of the Indians', fought with his men in the Peruvian civil wars of the 1540s, and a descendant of the Incas served with his troops in the suppression of a revolt in the ensuing decade.<sup>33</sup> Europeans thus acquired men with knowledge of the terrain. Their numerical inferiority was redressed, and from allies came advice and information. The final plan for the taking of the Aztec capital was, it is probable, suggested to Cortés by an Indian chief.<sup>34</sup>

Such proceedings characterized a willingness, markedly Iberian, to turn to profit, with as little effort as possible, whatever came to hand. In Africa, negro and mulatto intermediaries supplied the Portuguese with slaves, just as in America tribal chiefs collected tribute for their Spanish masters. In Asia the Portuguese envisaged that native allies, Moslems included,<sup>35</sup> would help found an empire; native troops would defend it; native women populate it; and native skills benefit its lords. In the earliest days the crown anticipated that its subjects would enter—as they readily did, and as it did itself—into commercial partnerships with eastern, including Moslem, merchants—*'com mouros e gente da terra'*.<sup>36</sup> The use of seamen from the east in the royal ships was being urged in 1505,<sup>37</sup> and before long shipwrights in western India were building both inshore and ocean-going vessels for Portugal.<sup>38</sup> In Goa, until growing religious intolerance largely scotched such pragmatism in the late 1500s, the Portuguese employed not only the system of labour organization they found, but also the whole machinery of revenue collection and administration. Moslems were still farming various monopolies in the mid-sixteenth century, and a hundred years later many sources of government income in Goa, Cochin and elsewhere—customs, taxes on cloth and tobacco and the like—remained in the hands of Hindu lessees on whose financial assistance the Portuguese regularly called.<sup>39</sup>

Then, as the Spaniards even more clearly showed in Mexico and Peru, European weakness in manpower could be remedied, and European blood spared, by the use of local martial skills and resources. Portuguese military organization in the east was feeble, and Portuguese military strength even feebler. Units were raised only as needed from among the unmarried *soldados*, of whom despite the thousands of names on the official muster roll kept in Goa, there were never more than a few hundred available. But, through the widespread use of indigenous auxiliaries, the Portuguese were not, in numerical terms, as weak as would at first appear. Malabar seamen, armed 'with swords and daggers' were serving in Portuguese ships in the Indian Ocean in 1509.<sup>40</sup> To take and hold Goa, Albuquerque had the help of at least 40 Hindu captains from the city and its vicinity whose troops clearly fought well and were rewarded 'for bringing in slaves' and 'for bringing in heads taken tonight in the pass'.<sup>41</sup> Over the next few decades, under their own officers—who often seem to have been village headmen<sup>42</sup>—Goan

and Malabar infantry and archers in their thousands served with the Portuguese anywhere from Malacca to Aden. When Albuquerque left for the assault on Malacca, Goa was entrusted to the keeping of 500 European and 2,500 Indian troops. The taking of the Malaysian entrepot cost between four and five hundred Europeans and as many Malabar Christians, and its subsequent defence was aided by 'the governor of the Moors' and 100 of his men. 5,000 Indians were used in the abortive Aden campaign; over 600 were shipped to Hormuz in 1515, and two years later an expedition to the Red Sea included 500 Indians carried in a Malacca junk.<sup>43</sup> Before, in mid-sixteenth century, religious bigotry checked their employment, Hindu mercenary captains were, like the commanders of the auxiliaries used by Spain, well-known, well-regarded and well-rewarded figures. Timoja, who came to the Portuguese in furtherance of some schemes of his own, suggested to Albuquerque the attractions of taking Goa, served in the campaign that led to its capture with about 2,000 men, and thereafter briefly garrisoned the territory and farmed its revenues.<sup>44</sup> He was succeeded first by Melrao, and then by the wealthy and influential Krishna, who provided not only infantry and gunners, but money as well. For such notable services he was knighted, and appointed amongst other things, chief officer and 'captain of the native soldiers'. Taken prisoner on a diplomatic mission (1544), he was replaced by his son, and later by a high-caste convert to Christianity who 'being very rich was found most acceptable'.<sup>45</sup>

This dependence on Hindu, and even occasionally Moslem arms, had obvious disadvantages besides outraging zealous churchmen.<sup>46</sup> To Albuquerque's chagrin, Timoja—now demoted in his estimation to 'nothing but a tyrant', and no intrepid warrior as it transpired—flouted his authority and finally deserted with the rent of Goa unpaid. Subsequently Krishna was rumoured to be engaged in undesirable practices by allowing an untaxed traffic in slaves.<sup>47</sup> There was, moreover, the ever present danger that the Portuguese might end as little more than the clients of their own employees. Yet royal injunctions and ecclesiastical fulminations notwithstanding necessity was a powerful argument for the continued acceptance of local collaboration. It had, moreover, the especial attraction in Portuguese eyes of being cheap. Indian troops served at about half the rate of pay allegedly received by Portuguese fighting men. And often enough they served 'without pay and only for victuals', or

'without pay or goods', expecting and receiving rewards of cloth or food for 'fighting well', 'for prisoners taken', 'for wounds', besides whatever loot there might be.<sup>48</sup> Indians were employed in campaigns on the west coast of the sub-continent in the 1530s and 1540s, with '*oitocentos homens lascaris*' in the epic fight for Diu in 1539, whilst other local auxiliaries were used in Malaysia. What little strength Portugal had in Sri Lanka was largely indigenous, in 1540 there were hopes of a loan and galley-oarsmen from Cochin, and for a time (1610) the Captain of Malacca had a Japanese bodyguard.<sup>49</sup> Such policies, it might be noted, were not confined to the east, and where, in the west needs were still greater, scruples were accordingly fewer. African head-hunters helped repel the Dutch from Mina in 1625, and in Angola—where subject chiefs were expected to provide warriors and bearers—the bulk of Portugal's African auxiliaries were Jaga cannibals.<sup>50</sup> In Brazil Amerindians 'armed with shot and other weapons' were serving Portugal in the 1580s,<sup>51</sup> just as Tupi tribesmen were used against Dutch invaders in the following century.

Not all indigenous collaboration was voluntary, and even more fundamental to the Portuguese, as to the Spaniards, were slaves used as everything from artisans to manual labourers in the countless tasks considered menial. Such assumptions were not peculiarly Iberian, but a common heritage of much of the world from time immemorial. So empire and slavery were synonymous, and non-European peoples of all races, their aptitudes carefully noted, were to make their contribution to the wealth and comfort of the Portuguese. Africans were used everywhere, the women as servants and mistresses, the men as labourers, craftsmen, sailors and—especially the redoubtable warriors of Guinea—as infantry. In the east the Portuguese bought unwanted Chinese girls from their parents and accepted those who like the Sri Lankans were driven by poverty to sell themselves into servitude. They enslaved prisoners male and female taken in war with such zest as to impede the conversion of the western coast of India.<sup>52</sup> They shipped slaves to Europe or sold them to fellow Europeans in the east. Slaves built fortresses; their masters' weapons in war; transported the spoils of victory; and manned Portuguese ships to ensure 'our men will not die from overwork'.<sup>53</sup> Girls attended to their masters' every need, and in Goa added their earnings from prostitution to their owners' income. Such was the ubiquity of female slaves as concubines and mistresses

that, as was pithily remarked of Albuquerque's alleged monopoly of the charms of a galaxy of beauties captured in Goa 'not even Mahomet had it so good'.<sup>54</sup>

We might then in conclusion suggest that the art of empire-building was to find the ally within—the secret of imperial administration, to have done by others those things you could not or would not do yourself—and the history of Goa a prime field in which to test such hypotheses.

## NOTES

1. Eberhard Straub, *Das Justum Bellum des Hernan Cortes in Mexico*, (Cologne, 1976), pp. 53-4.
2. Cf. M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*, (California, 1976), p. 40 ff.
3. H. and P. Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique, 1504-1650*, (8 vols., Paris, 1955-9), 8 (i), p. 149 ff.
4. Stridently argued by Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400-1700*, (London, 1965); but cf. the present writer in the *Historical Journal* xi, 2, (1968), p. 372 ff.
5. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, ed. R.J.L. Felner (4 vols., Lisbon, 1858-64), II, p. 363, and cf. the writs of instruction and payment in A.B. de Bragança Pereira (ed.) *A(rquivo) P(ortuguese) O(riental)*, Nova Edição (11 vols., Bastora-Goa, 1936-40), p. 4 (i.i.).
6. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (A.P. Maudsley ed. and trs.) *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, (5 vols., London, Hakluyt Society, 1908).
7. *Cartas (de Afonso de Albuquerque, seguidas de documentos que as elucidam)*, (7 vols. Lisbon, 1884-1935).
8. João de Barros, *Decadas de Asia*, (Lisbon ed. 1945-6), Dec. II., bk. 5, chaps. 3 and 5.
9. P.W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver*, (California University Press, 1952); A. Jara, *Guerre et Société au Chili*, (Paris, 1961).
10. Barros, Dec. I. bk. 7, chap. 2.
11. A.R. Pagden ed. and trs., Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, (New York, 1971), p. 156.
12. Barros, Dec. II. bk. 5, chap. 3.
13. *APO.*, 4 (i.i.), pp. 293, 306.
14. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, ed. P. de Azevedo and F.M.L.Coelho (9 vols., Coimbra, 1924-33), bk. I, chap. liii, p. 113.
15. *APO.*, 4 (i.i.), no. 43; Albuquerque, *Cartas*, I, 174; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, (Maclehose ed., 12 vols., Glasgow, 1903-5), V, p. 500.
16. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluyt Posthumus*, or *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, (Maclehose ed., 20 vols., Glasgow, 1905-7), IV, p. 153.

17. Castanheda, Bk. 1. cap. lxii, p. 128; Correa, *sub anno* 1539.
18. Diogo do Couto, *Decadas da Asia* (15 vols., Lisbon, 1778-88), *Dec.* IV, bk. 7, chap. 2.
19. John Heming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (London, 1970), pp. 95, 112 ff.
20. Barros, *Dec.* II. bk. 5, cap. 5.
21. Barros, *Dec.* II. bk. 5, cap. 10.
22. Albuquerque, *Cartas*, letter of 22.12.1510.
23. Barros, *Dec.* II. bk. 5, cap. 9.
24. Barros, *Dec.* II. bk. 5, cap. 10.
25. Barros, *Dec.* II. bk. 5, cap. 5.; *Studia*, 8 (1961), 173.
26. Albuquerque, *Cartas*, letter of 22.12.1510.
27. *APO*, 4 (i.i.), p. 328 ff.
28. *APO*, 4 (i.i.), pp. 355, 357.
29. *Hakluyt*, IX, pp. 56.
30. Cortés, *Letters*, p. 70.
31. Heming, *Conquest*, pp. 242, 426-7, 611.
32. Cortés, *Letters*, pp. 62, 262.
33. Heming, *Conquest*, pp. 217, 226.
34. Cortés, *Letters*, p. 248.
35. *APO*, 4(i.i.), p. 316.
36. *APO*, 4(i.i.), pp. 542, 819.
37. *APO*, 4(i.i.), p. 76.
38. *APO*, 4(i.i.), nos. 80, 226.
39. *Studia*, 29 (1970), 145ff; M. N. Pearson in *Mare Luso-Indicum* II, (Paris, 1973), p. 64ff.
40. *APO*, 4(i.i.), no. 54.
41. *APO*, 4(i.i.), writs for the period 1511-13 and nos. 105, 126.
42. *APO*, 4(i.i.), nos. 111, 119, 120.
43. Correa, II, pp. 79, 363; *APO*, 4(i.i.) nos. 189, 200, 259, 267, 269.
44. His career is usefully summarized by the late Professor Virginia Rau in her annotation of the *Carta de Manuel ao Rei de Aragão, Fernando, sobre a tomada de Goa*, (Lisbon 1968).
45. Invaluable information in P. Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India* (Goa, 1952), and the unpublished researches of Dr Peter Bury, whose Cambridge Ph.D. thesis I have used.
46. *APO*, 4(i.i.), p. 865; Barros, *Dec.* II. bk. 5, cap. 4.
47. *APO*, 4(i.i.), nos. 138, 209; Pissurlencar, *op.cit.*, p. 4 n. 1.
48. *APO*, 4(i.i.), nos. 105, 123, 125, 200.
49. Pissurlencar, *op.cit.*, p. 12; Couto, *Dec.* V. bk. 7, cap. 4; Correa, *sub anno* 1539; I. A. Macgregor, 'The Portuguese in Malaya' in the *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 28 (1955), p. 25n.80; C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, (California, 1951), p. 297.
50. C.R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686*, (London, 1952), p. 228.
51. *Hakluyt*, XI, p. 224.
52. *APO*, 4(i.i.), no. 257 (1514).
53. *APO*, 4(i.i.), nos. 220, 252; pp. cxxxii, 304; Correia, II, p. 246.
54. *APO*, 4(i.i.), p. 539.

## Some Problems of Reconstructing the History of India's West Coast from European Sources

Ashin Das Gupta

THERE ARE TWO THINGS suggested by the title of the paper to which I would like to draw attention at the outset. The history of a coast in itself is something rather new to Indian historians, and it is necessary to think aloud on the subject before I proceed to make a mess of it. Secondly, the expression 'European sources' conceals the lamentable fact that although this is a seminar in Indo-Portuguese history, I have no competence in handling Portuguese sources, or for that matter any known major Indian material. I should therefore like to establish some kind of an academic alibi for myself.

We do not write history in terms of anything as elusive as coastal India for the simple reason that all our history writing has so far been dominated by high politics. If we do not have at hand some major political entity like the Mughal empire or the *Estado da India* we feel helpless. True enough we write economic history and we write social history, but the framework has usually to be that of a political structure. To write, now, of India's coasts, this kind of a steel frame is worse than useless. The society, the economy and the polity which we would ideally aim to reconstruct would cut across many a known political formation and may well evolve a logic and a language of its own at variance with those of the continental historian. The range of problems, to take a random sample, would comprise entities like the port cities, the mercantile communities, shipping and the ships' men, political processes in coastal India, the language of commerce, networks of communications, and social mobility along the coasts. This kind of rather irresponsible

enumeration may help to underline the distinction between maritime history and the kind of magisterial history of the decline and fall of umpteen empires to which we are accustomed, and to indicate that this kind of reconstruction has to be attempted very much along the border line of several disciplines like linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and geography, besides history.

With a programme of this order, the historian is immediately confronted with his usual and, in this case, formidable problem of relevant and adequate sources. I have for some time been attempting to explore maritime history from the archives of the Dutch and the English East India Companies with some assistance from related source material, and I would like to share the problems they pose with colleagues who have worked in Portuguese and related material. Essentially what we confront is the twin problem of using foreign sources for reading Indian history, and that of using any source for reconstructing maritime history.

European sources have been used and abused by historians of the subcontinent ever since we began reconstructing the Indian past. If we take this kind of historiography at its best and consider Charles Boxer introducing his reader to the stagnation of Portuguese power in later 17th century India through the sombre assessment of Padre Manuel Godinho,<sup>1</sup> we learn history through what I would call structured formulations. Much of the bibliographical and archival work done by Father John Correia-Afonso, in the magnificent Jesuit tradition of learning, deals with formulations of this order. There is of course nothing at all wrong with dealing with the past in this manner; it only happens that the kind of probing I have in mind does not lend itself easily to this manner of handling. When witnesses speak of civilizations and decay, they reflect on history rather than record its raw material. History written in terms of high politics or great traditions can indeed be best discussed if the historian has at his command philosopher witnesses, be they Mughal or Portuguese. Such men are not much help if one wishes to know how much an unskilled day labourer earned in the town of Surat at the turn of the 18th century. It is because the Indian maritime historians, standing comfortably now on the shoulders of their elders, are asking questions of a humdrum sort, that even within the fold of European documentation the quest has to be for a different kind of matter.

It is easy to argue that the records of the daily chores made by

the employees of the various European concerns in coastal Indian cities would provide more suitable material for the new curiosities, and there let the matter rest. This will be an unfortunate mistake, because the material comprised under this description varies greatly in nature and requires close scrutiny if we are to advance at all. An excellent example would be the printed source material available in English, and more particularly the *English Factories in India* which has shaped the historical approach of several generations. The matter printed is of course unexceptionable, but the manner of the series has done important mischief.<sup>2</sup> The editors knew what had happened in Indian history and they knew that Englishmen never told lies. It followed that the world of Indian trade revolved round the English East India Company who brought prosperity to India and, as was to be expected, were roughly treated in return. 'The Mughal' divided his time between oppressing the Hindus and fleecing the merchants. All in all it was a chronicle of life and hard times for natives and, more particularly, the foreigners. Curious to reflect that the great Mughal historian Jadunath Sarkar, in spite of his matchless command of Persian material, accepted the version *in toto*, a characteristic which even contemporary Mughal scholars appear to share.

If we consider the kinds of problems the documentation may create when handled unsuspectingly, three different types of difficulties would suggest themselves. First, the point of view of those who wrote would insinuate itself in the writing of the historian. I shall argue that even when we write history from the correspondence of merchants, the danger of accepting a world view is very much there. Secondly, a further problem would be created if we wrote, as it were, at a certain distance from the actual reality. Then labels like 'the Mughal' and 'the Company' might distort the truth of history. Thirdly, if we failed to regard our sources with the gravest suspicion, then plain dishonesty would create insuperable difficulties. All these can be illustrated from an examination, however cursory, of the kinds of documentation to be found in the archives of the Dutch East India Company.

There is little in the way of reflective literature in the Koloniaal Archief of the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague. Most of the documents the student handles are letters and papers produced by merchants and officers in the course of their daily grind, thousands of miles from home and things familiar.<sup>3</sup> The documentation, if

one is watching, this kind of difference with any care, falls into three different levels, and the totality suggests the shape of a pyramid. At the top there were the annual letters written every year, usually in March and April, when the European ships waited to carry the mail home. The factors at Surat or Cochin then summed up for their superiors the material of the previous twelve months. These letters are the most convenient for the historian to handle, and if one follows them for a number of years there is some ready-made history to be written. Unfortunately the matter presented at this level was usually of the kind to interest the Dutch Company's directors at home and concerned itself most with the profit and loss of the European investor. India figured in it in so far as India was a factor in this profit and loss account. History written from this level of annual letters is inevitably Euro-centric, and the historian's world in writing such as this would inevitably revolve round the Dutch Company. These annual letters are, to my mind, the closest approach to deliberate history-writing by the employees of the Company, and as such have to be watched with the greatest circumspection.<sup>4</sup>

Below the level of the annual letters were the minutes of proceedings of the Dutch councils with their supporting documentation. The annual letters grew out of these proceedings, and the researcher can see for himself what kind of matter was left out of the correspondence by comparing the two levels. Needless to say that matters of 'local interest' were weeded out, and little of Indian India showed itself at the top level of the documentation. Even below the level of the consultations there was the chaotic floor of miscellaneous documentation where numerous Indian correspondents recorded their evidence<sup>5</sup> and the incomparable daily diary is often to be found. At this level there was little direct concern with the Company, and if one knows how to fit in the fragments into an overall pattern there is a great deal to learn of the actual reality of daily existence in Indian coastal cities.

What I have said above would by itself show that the point of view of the witnesses really is a danger if one is dealing with the top level of the pyramid of documentation. It would be idle to pretend that the danger is absent lower down, but the fragmentary matter one encounters in the miscellany of local correspondence, shipping lists and the like is far less likely to cause any mischief. The second danger, that of writing history from a

distance and with large labels like 'the Mughal' or 'the Company' has already drawn the attention of at least one perceptive historian,<sup>6</sup> and I shall confine myself to two illustrations from the history of Surat in order to make my point.

In the 1690s the port of Surat was badly plagued by pirates who operated on the Red Sea run, which was really the life-line of the city, bringing in its major bullion imports every year. The pirates were European, and the European Companies were held responsible for the piracies. The resultant struggle has always been seen by historians as one between 'the Mughal' and 'the English Company' or 'the Mughal' and 'the Dutch Company'. A close examination of the Dutch documentation reveals that in fact the major protagonist on the Indian side was the great Bohra merchant Mulla Abdul Ghafur, who used the Mughal machinery to serve his own ends. The local Mughal officials, including successive governors of the city, were unsympathetic to Ghafur, and often went out of their way to befriend the Europeans. This was dramatically illustrated on one occasion in 1703 when the Governor and the senior officials of Surat secretly urged the Dutch to blockade the port and seize the shipping of Abdul Ghafur.<sup>7</sup> Ghafur was, however, successful in keeping the Mughal court more or less steadily on his side, and in removing three successive governors of Surat from their post because they followed a different policy. The main strength of Ghafur was the hold he had over the merchants of the city and the slogan he could raise of 'Islam in danger'. Both the weapons broke eventually, and as support for him eroded, within the city and the utility of a religious posture lessened, Ghafur was forced to come to a compromise. This history is of course very different from the one narrated in terms of a confrontation between 'the Mughal' and 'the Company'.

In the troubles of the later 17th and early 18th century the label 'Mughal' is easily seen as misleading, but the description 'Company' still carries a meaning. If we look to the events in the Dutch lodge at Surat in the 1730s, the difficulty of using even this label can be clearly seen. On the face of it, nothing unusual happened at the Dutch lodge at the time. Every year Indonesian spices were brought to the Mughal port by Dutch ships from Batavia and sold to the highest bidders after a public advertisement. Cloths were procured and shipped off as desired by the Heeren XVII. The Company at Surat was seemingly what it had always been.

But to men in the city the picture was quite different. Pieter Phoon-sen, the Dutch *directeur*, was the master of a ring of local Dutch officials who bought and sold the imported spicery themselves under assumed names, and no public sale was ever done apart from the notes made in the Dutch Company's books. This position was revealed at the time by Henry Lowther, the English chief at Surat, and can be read in the Papers of Sir Robert Cowan now preserved at the Public Record Office, Belfast. It was examined in detail by the Dutch Company itself in the 1740s, and the findings proved how ill served the Company had been at Surat for many years. The point that I am making does not concern itself with the good or bad in the conduct of Phoonssen, but with the danger of using the label 'Dutch Company' without an awareness that within that label there were different kinds of interests. The documents may or may not reveal them, but that they existed and were important can hardly be denied.

The position that I have been trying to make out so far can be stated as follows. In reconstructing the history of India's west coast we must be asking questions of a humdrum kind which have not really been asked before. In answering these questions, European documentation will still serve as the most important source but we must attempt to get down to the bottom of such archives, where the papers reveal an Indian face. Further we must be on our guard against using broad labels and dishonest presentation of facts which obscure the actual reality of the historical processes.

The picture which will shape itself will have to be built in the first instance round a number of coastal port-cities; and one of the first problems to face would be the nature of these cities. Along India's west coast during the 18th century I have encountered three different types of these cities, leaving out the smaller roadsteads. For one there was the Mughal port-city of Surat, completely integrated within the indigenous structure and, in the early years of the century, very much the queen of the coast. Secondly, there was Cochin, a port and a town divided between Dutch and Indian administrations which were tirelessly squabbling about the question of protecting their different peoples. Thirdly there was Bombay, a village growing to something grander entirely under the aegis of the British, but developing as an Indian town under the British umbrella.

Scholars are and they will be concerned for many years to come

in delineating the distinctions I have only indicated so briefly. Here I shall make a few comments on the city of Surat to underline a few of the basic problems in discussing a coastal city. Surat was of course, no formally constituted city in the western sense of the term, resting upon explicit royal charters, claiming privileges and exercising jurisdiction. India did not have 'cities' of this kind but we must call the urban conglomerates by the name of cities even without this juridical base. Surat was a revenue unit of the Mughal empire, yielding important incomes from the port, the markets of the town and the adjoining villages. This was its primary role in the eyes of the imperial administration. To it one may add the fact that the port of Surat was the point of embarkation for the pilgrims going to Mecca every year, and as such claimed a special consideration from the Mughal administrators. Thirdly there was an awareness that the port brought general prosperity to the empire and needed careful tending. Lastly, there was, on the part of its inhabitants, a sense of belonging together, which would surface during emergencies. This was contradicted by the many social divisions within the city, and the fact that for most Hindus the ultimate connexion was with the ancestral village. There was nothing one may call a physical base for an urban setting. There was a castle, a mint and a large wholesale market with its adjunct of an assembly ground for merchants and merchandise in the city's *maidan*, but these were things which could all be abandoned in an emergency and rebuilt either on the spot or assembled elsewhere without insuperable difficulties. The habit of the city, that elusive element which really made a human unit, was not tied to the locality and would shift with changing circumstances. This quicksilver quality of Indian coastal cities will have to be understood with due care.

These cities along India's west coast had religious and administrative elements in them, but were by and large cities of Indian merchants. Much of maritime history will therefore concern itself with the merchants of Indian ports. The important characteristic which we are gradually discovering in these mercantile towns is that they hung together in matters of trade, but were immensely subdivided in social living. The co-operation in fact was superficial and functional, whereas the divisions fixed by birth went deep. Indian cities were, once more, not European cities, in that there was no organic sense of belonging, no professional organizations which

would cut across religion and even the major castes. The unity of the *mahajan* or the *jamat* was limited in fact to certain communities and the *nagarsheth* would only play his role in emergencies. I do not wish to deny the importance of such unities or the significance of such a functionary, but we will be lost if we read a western city in them.

The merchants were, however, more akin in one sense to their western counterparts than is sometimes supposed. It would be quite wrong to think of these men as adjuncts to the political structure. They may not have been politically powerful but they were autonomous. Political trade was of course known to Mughal India, but maritime trade by and large had an existence and therefore a history beyond it. Merchant princes like Mulla Abdul Ghafur of Surat were wealthy and influential through trade alone, and were free of any political underpinning. Van Leur's merchant gentlemen were the errand boys of the local aristocracy, a description hardly applicable to Abdul Ghafur. The scale of operation of such men would hardly merit the use of the word 'pedlar', another favourite of Van Leur's which is enjoying a long life. There can be little doubt that most merchants of India's west coast were small men and deservedly pedlars. But richer men there were, and one would need to be cautious. I believe that even such men can be called pedlars if we use the term in an awareness, not of their smallness, nor of their primitiveness, but of their insecurity and helplessness.

Recent studies have emphasized the smallness of the Indian Ocean markets, their instability and their sheer unpredictability.<sup>10</sup> The western markets in the 17th and 18th centuries were getting better organized and supported a securer merchant class. The markets in Asia, if anything, deteriorated, and the insecurity of their existence made even the merchant princes pedlars at heart. They dealt largely but were anxious to sell whatever they held in the course of one season. They dealt steadily over the years, but they would hardly accept any permanent arrangements with the producers, unable as they were to predict the coming year's market. Finally, the merchant gentlemen never defeated the true pedlar of the Indian Ocean who continued their trade from producer to consumer across hundreds of miles and on minimal profit. The wholesale market never had a real grip over India's maritime commerce, and maritime history, as indeed agrarian history in its way, was regulated by the basic insecurity of men who were its subjects,

## NOTES

1. Admirers of Charles Boxer will at once recognize this favoured model. The example is from *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (London, 1969), p. 128. Boxer was of course not writing Indian history as such, but what he wrote helped significantly in reading India's past. Immediately below in my text the reader will know a reference to Father John Correia-Afonso's *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773* (Bombay, 1969).
2. The objections I raise about this famous source apply more particularly to the New Series and the editorial work of Charles Fawcett.
3. There are, of course, some exceptions. One major series of documentation at the Algemeen Rijksarchief known as the *Hooghe Regeering te Batavia* contains several volumes of memoirs and studies which have the detached quality of observation from a distance, against which I am warning the reader.
4. I have examined some of the characteristics of the Dutch documents related to Surat in the early 18th century in a paper to be published in S. C. Misra ed., *Urban History of Surat*.
5. To pick out two examples at random, there were fifty-three letters from Dakhniram, the newswriter at Delhi, and Birsidas, broker at Agra, in the year 1719; the following year there were eighty-three of such letters from the same men.
6. See Michael Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers of Gujarat* (California, 1976). Pearson, with his Portuguese and Persian sources, succeeded in showing the different levels within the ruling class of Gujarat, but was less successful in examining the component parts of the Indian mercantile communities.
7. I have examined this episode in some detail in my forthcoming book *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, 1700-50* (Steiner, Wiesbaden, announced for March 1979).
8. For a brief treatment of the topic see my article 'De VOC en Surat in de 17de en 18de Eeuw' in M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *De V.O.C. In Azie* (Unieboek Vussum, 1976), pp. 64-84.
9. The difficulties between the Dutch at Cochin and the king of the territory can be studied in a series of instructive and interminable *olas* from the King and rejoinders from the Dutch. The points I make here and in the rest of the essay can each be substantiated in some detail.
10. Of the more important of these studies are N. Steensgaard, *Carracks, Caravans and Companies* (Copenhagen, 1973) and P. J. Marshall, *East India Fortunes* (Oxford, 1976).

## Some Possible Fields of Research in the History of Portuguese India (16th-18th Centuries)

*C. R. Boxer*

THE CHOICE OF A SUBJECT for research will naturally depend primarily on the availability of archival documentation, whether at Goa, Lisbon, or elsewhere. I have chosen here to lay stress on subjects for which I believe there may be adequate documentation in the Historical Archives at Goa (Panaji), so that Indian students can do the whole of their work in the sub-continent without the need of expensive and time-consuming trips to Europe. I need hardly add that the topics discussed below reflect my own professional interests. There are of course many other—and perchance more worthwhile—possibilities, some of which have been ventilated in the International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History held at Goa in November 1978. Moreover, while one might be able to find sufficient archival and library resources in India to do a satisfactory Ph.D. project in Indo-Portuguese History for the 17th and 18th centuries, this is certainly not possible for the 16th century, where the overwhelming bulk of the material is in European archives. Furthermore, even where the Goa Historical Archives enable independent research, it is obvious that this can be further enriched by consultation of the complementary documentation at Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora, Rome, Seville, Simancas, London, Paris, or wherever, if time and funds allow the individual researcher to travel to Europe. I should add that I have taken the term 'Portuguese India' to be identical with the old 'Estado da India', which extended (on paper) from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, and from the Iranian/Arabian Gulf to the Moluccas and Timor.

Pending the publication of a detailed catalogue of the records

in this archive, which will demand a great deal of time and money, the following three publications give some idea of the scope and extent of the material available for consultation. They are listed in chronological and not in 'pecking' order. C. R. Boxer, 'A Glimpse of the Goa Archives', article in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London (Vol. XIV, 2, pp. 299-324, London, 1952). Panduronga S.S. Pissurlencar, *Roteiro dos Arquivos da Índia Portuguesa* (Bastora-Goa, 1955). V. T. Gune, *A Guide to the Collections of Records from the Goa Archives* (Panaji, 1973).

With this preamble, I offer the following suggestions :

(a) The Municipal Council or *Senado da Camara* of Goa, for all or part of the 18th century, for which the documentation is particularly abundant. Topics could deal with its composition, structure and personnel, possibly in comparison with those of Macao, Bahia, or elsewhere. I have made a preliminary effort in this direction in my *Portuguese Society in the Tropics. The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1965), but many aspects could be developed in much greater depth. Viriato de Albuquerque, *O Senado de Goa, Memoria Historico-Archaeologica* (Nova Goa, 1909), useful in its day and generation, is now very much outdated. Whoever tackles the topic of the *Vereadores* (or Alermen) of the Senado, would do well to start by reading V. Magalhães Godinho, *A Estrutura da Antiga Sociedade Portuguesa*, (3rd edition, Editora Arcadia, Lisboa, 1977), which should prove a fertile source of inspiration, particularly for anyone taking a comparative approach.

(b) The High Court Judges (*Desembargadores da Relação*) of the Estado da Índia. These lawyers had a tendency to marry with heiresses of the *Aldeias da Provincia do Norte*, the landed estates in the Province of the North, between Damão and Chaul, until the loss of that region to the Marathas, 1737-39, despite much Crown legislation to the contrary. In this as in other respects, interesting comparisons and contrasts can be made between these Judges and their counterparts in Portuguese and in Spanish America, for whom see Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil. The Judges of the High Court of Bahia, 1624-1763*, (University of California Press, 1975), and Mark A. Burkholder and D.S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority : The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687-1808*, (University of Missouri Press, 1977).

(c) The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa*. We badly need a new and

well documented study to replace the diffuse and disorganized work by José F. Ferreira Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia de Goa* (3 vols. Nova Goa, 1912-14), a useful pioneer publication in its day and generation. Something on the lines of John Russel-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*, (Macmillan, London, 1968), would be very welcome.

(d) *Women and Society in the Estado da Índia*. Two obvious themes in this connection would be a study of the *Orfãos del Rei* ('Orphans of the Crown'), and another of the nuns of Santa Monica. A cornerstone for either of these studies is provided by the late Dr Germano da Silva Correia's 6-volume work, *Historia da colonização Portuguesa na Índia*, (Lisboa, 1948-56). This work contains a mass of archival material about Portuguese and Eurasian women in Goa and elsewhere on the West Coast of India, but unfortunately it is ill-digested and has no index. Moreover, many of the author's conclusions, although reached in perfect good faith, are diametrically contradicted by his own copious documentation, as I have shown in my *Mary and Misogyny. Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815. Some facts, fancies and personalities*, pp. 63-84, (Duckworth, London, 1975). In this field, a study of the *aforamentos* (quit-rents) or leasing of the village estates (*aldeias*) in the Province of the North, and the extent to which women were involved in this process, might well repay investigation.

(e) *The Inquisition in Goa*. On this subject there is very little material available at Goa, and the researcher must go to Lisbon. The original documentation has largely perished, the bulk of it having been deliberately destroyed in the early nineteenth century. Fortunately, there is a detailed inventory of no fewer than 16,172 *processos* (investigations and trials of individual cases) covering the period 1561-1774, in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo at Lisbon. Antonio Baião in his two-volume survey gives us a valuable curtain-raiser on this topic: *A Inquisição de Goa. Correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia, 1569-1630*, (Coimbra, 1930) and *A Inquisição de Goa. Tentativa de historia da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolução e extinção*, (Lisboa, 1945). The work by A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, (Bombay, 1961) is an objective and restrained account of this tribunal, but relies entirely on published sources. Among the very few historians who have made use of the archival material at Lisbon, are the late Dr. A. da Silva Carvalho for his monograph on *Garcia d'Orta*, (Coimbra, 1934), and the late Dr Israel Rêvah

for a few short articles which he wrote, including one on 'Le Retour au Catholicisme d'António Bocarro' (*Coloquio*, Nr. 10, Lisboa, 1960, pp. 58-60). What we need in this field are not more anecdotal articles on the Goa Inquisition derived from the oft-published work of the French Dr Dellon (who was not, incidentally, very harshly treated by the 'Terrible Tribunal of the East'), but well-documented monographs of the type written by Anita Novinsky, *Cristãos-Novos na Bahia, 1624-1654*, (São Paulo, 1972), and José Gonçalves Salvador, *Cristãos-Novos, Jesuitas, e Inquisição. Aspectos de sua atuação nas capitanias do Sul, 1530-1680*, (São Paulo, 1969), both of which rely heavily on the Inquisition records at Lisbon. The Goa Inquisition inventory of 1561-1774 at Lisbon will not only furnish much material on the presence of the crypto-Jews in the *Estado da Índia*, but likewise on the persistence of Hindu rites and beliefs after the conversion of the great bulk of the inhabitants of the *Velhas Conquistas* to Christianity.

(f) *Ecclesiastical History*. The Historical Archives at Goa are fortunate in possessing a great wealth of material in this respect, including the original archives of the Religious Orders at Goa (or what remained of them) which were confiscated on their suppression in 1834-35. As Fr. Teotonio R. de Souza S.J., informs us in his paper on 'The Voiceless in Goan Historiography : A Case for the Source-Value of Church Records in Goa' these records are bound into some 400 volumes, which contain *inter alia*, much information on the prices of essential commodities at Goa during the seventeenth century. The role of the Religious Orders as moneylenders and landlords can also be clarified from this abundant documentation, and we await with interest the publication of Fr. Teotonio de Souza's Ph.D. thesis in 1979. This absolves me from further discussion of Church records here.

(g) *The Estado da Índia as a Frontier Society*. If, with Alistair Hennessy (*The Frontier in Latin-American History*, London, 1978), we define a frontier situation as the interpenetration of two separate and distinct cultures, the *Estado da Índia* obviously offers a vast and stimulating field for historical research. As Diogo do Couto asked rhetorically in his *Dialogo do Soldado Prático* of 1611 : 'Tell me, Sirs; is there today in this world another land which is more of a frontier, and in which it is more necessary to go about with arms in the hand than in India? Most certainly not!' (*Dizei-me, senhores há hoje no mundo terra mais fronteira, e em que sejam necessárias andarem*

*as armas mais na mão que a Índia? Por certo não !*) (Cf. p. 144 of the edition by Rodrigues Lapa).

Couto was echoing a standard conviction voiced by his compatriots during three centuries. 'This is a frontier land of conquest' (*pois he terra de conquista e fronteira*) wrote a Franciscan missionary-friar at Goa in 1587. 'The government of [Portuguese] India is a totally military and warlike one' (*o governo da Índia é um governo totalmente militar e guerreiro*), as the Overseas Councillors reminded King John V in 1714. Some thirty years later, Dom Pedro de Almeida, first Marquis of Alorna, assured the same monarch: 'This State is a military republic, and its preservation depends entirely on our arms by land and sea' (*Este Estado he huma Republica Militar, e sua conservação está unicamente dependente das armas, e da marinha*). In Bardez and Salcete, the mission acted as a frontier institution, much as it did in the northern marches of New Spain, in Paraguay, and in the Philippine Islands—to say nothing of Zambesia, Angola, and Brazil in the Portuguese seaborne empire. A comparison of the embattled *praças* of the *Estado da Índia*, such as Diu, Damão, and Baçaim, with those of the Portuguese in Morocco, the last of which, Mazagão, was only abandoned in 1769, would also be of interest. Of course, there were considerable differences between all these frontier societies, whether Portuguese or Spanish; but there were also, I suspect, some interesting similarities. This at least, is something which occurs to me in the light of Alistair Hennessy's above-mentioned *The Frontier in Latin American History* (1978) and of Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier. A History of the Sixteenth-century Ibero-African Frontier*, (University of Chicago, 1978).

(h) *Friends and foes of the Estado da Índia*. Despite the insistence of Diogo do Couto and the other contemporary authorities whom I have just quoted, that the *Estado da Índia* was essentially a frontier fighting Society. This generalization, like all others, needs some qualification. It is significant that King Manuel's titles, which he assumed with such prophetic precipitation in 1499, included 'Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce' of the Asian Seas. Even if 'commerce' occupied the third place in theory, in practice it often assumed the first. If there was an ambient of continual warfare, there was also one of continual trade, whatever the difficulties involved. The fact that the State of India lasted for over 300 years, however precariously at times, is sufficient indication that

it could not have been maintained by warfare alone. The collaboration and co-operation of indigenous peoples must also have been forthcoming, whether this was secured by the use of the stick or of the carrot—or, more commonly, by a mixture of both. No colonial empire, whether the Portuguese or the British in India, or the Spaniards in the Philippines, or the Dutch in Indonesia, could have been established, let alone preserved for any length of time, without active indigenous support, or at least a considerable degree of acquiescence. *India Portuguesa* was certainly no exception. Its viability from its earliest days was largely dependent on the contribution made by Indian merchants, financiers, tax-farmers, diplomatic agents, government bureaucrats, and by others in varying degrees.

This subject deserves a great deal more research than it has hitherto received, largely for political reasons which I need not elaborate. But a start has been made, and the possibilities revealed by some recent books and articles, of which I may mention the following. The pioneer work is by the late Panduronga Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na Índia : Hindus, Muçulmanos, Judeus e Parsees*, (Bastorã-Goa, 1952). While a few of these indispensable individuals eventually became converted to Christianity, the great majority did not. They nonetheless rendered loyal and faithful service to the Portuguese Crown, often for successive generations. Incidentally, this was true of the late Dr Pissurlencar himself, who had no Portuguese blood in his veins and who was a devout Hindu and not a Christian *Brahmane*. M. N. Pearson discusses variants of this theme in his innovative *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat. The Response to the Portuguese in the sixteenth-century*, (University of California Press, 1976), and in two short but seminal articles, 'Wealth and Power: Indian groups in the Portuguese Indian Economy' (*South Asia*, III, pp. 36-44); 'Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy. The Goa *Rendas*, 1600-1670' (*Mare Luso-Indicum*, II, pp. 61-73). For the sixteenth-century, the articles of Jean Aubin and Geneviève Bouchon in *Mare Luso-Indicum* (3 vols. to date 1971-76) are indispensable guides to future research in this field, as is the latter's *Mamale de Cananore. Un adversaire de l'Inde Portugaise, 1507-1528* (Paris, 1975). This topic ties in with the study of the triangular trade in the Indian Ocean, which has recently aroused renewed interest. I need not pursue the subject here, therefore; but intending researchers will do well to heed

the warning shots fired across their path by Professors Ashin Das Gupta and G. V. Scammell.

(i) *Biographical Studies*. These are regarded askance by the structuralists, but I am old-fashioned enough to believe that useful work can still be done in this field. Several of the Viceroys and Governors of the *Estado da India* are worth a well documented 'Life and Times' treatment, despite R. S. Whiteway's cavalier assertion that all of those who succeeded Dom João de Castro were either indolent, or corrupt, or both, and invariably superstitious (*Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, Westminster, 1899, p. 324). Whiteway forgot that 'one man's religion is another man's superstition'. I am myself engaged on a study of the Viceroy Dom Pedro de Almeida, the first Marquis of Alorna (1688-1756). He may well have been corrupt — there is considerable evidence to this effect from Indian sources — but he was neither indolent nor superstitious. On the contrary, he was active and highly intelligent, being one of the leading *Estrangeirados* ('foreignized'), or members of the Portuguese Enlightenment. There is no lack of documentation, published and unpublished, for the period of his viceroyalty in India, 1744-50, but unfortunately it is widely dispersed. The bulk of it is in Portuguese public and private archives and in the Historical Archives at Goa. But some of his papers are in the Newberry Library at Chicago, others in the Oliveira Lima Library at the Catholic University, Washington D.C., and I have myself a volume of his original papers on India and East Africa, which once belonged to J. J. Biker, editor of the series *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes que o Estado das India Portuguesa fez com os Reis e Senhores da Asia e Africa Oriental*, (14 vols. Lisboa, 1881-1887). Similar considerations apply to other viceroys whose tenure of office could be worth a detailed scrutiny, such as Dom Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares, 1629-35, and Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, 1645-51. The voluminous papers of Dom Frei Aleixo de Meneses, Archbishop and Viceroy at Goa, 1595-1609, are still preserved at Braga. They are virtually unused, but well worth using.

Biographical treatment need not, of course, be confined to the high and mighty; and some individuals who did not hog the limelight may well repay research. A promising field in this connection I suggest, might be some of the *Brahmanes*, who served successive viceroys in secretarial positions and who often wielded considerable

influence behind the scenes. Moreover, it is unlikely that much material about them exists in Portugal; and probably all the research could be done at Goa, especially if family papers are still extant to supplement the material in the archives at Goa-Panaji, I am thinking in particular of the influential Francisco Gonçalves (*floruit* 1635-52), of whom Antonio João de Frias wrote in his *Aureola dos Indios & Nobiliarchia Bracmana*, (Lisboa, 1702): 'Todos os Tribunaes sam occupados pelos Bracmanes, principalmente a Secretaria de Estado, aonde Francisco Gonçalves Bracmane, natural de Santa Anna, que era official mayor della, servio por muito tempo o lugar de Secretario de Estado, por escolha que delle fez o Vice-Rey Dom Philippe Mascarenhas, preferindoo a outros muitos Ministros, pela sua grande experiencia nos negocios, e pelo seu grande talento, e por conhecer que era Bracmane de naçam, a mais principal da India'. Over a century ago, Miguel Vicente d'Abreu pointed out the importance of these *Brahmane* officials in providing continuity in the government bureaucracy (*O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. I, pp. 179-86, 238-44, Nova Goa, 1866), and urged that some of them would repay investigation. So far as I am aware, this has not yet been done.

(j) *Critical editions of historical texts.* This is generally acknowledged to be a prime *desideratum*, but very little has actually been done about it. We still have no trustworthy and rigorously established texts of such classics as the *Decadas* of João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, save Marcus de Iongh's diplomatic edition of a manuscript version of Couto's *Decada V* at Leiden (Coimbra, 1936). The ideal would be to have them annotated by an Orientalist; but it is more realistic to urge that a good start would be reliable reproductions of the texts of the respective first editions. A model in this connection is Dr Graça Almeida Rodrigues' diplomatic and critical edition of the *Crónica do Príncipe D. João de Damão de Góis. Edição critica e comentada*, (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1977). Such work must be done primarily in Europe, as Indian libraries do not possess the necessary bibliographical resources.

For João de Barros, the task is a relatively simple one, at least as regards the three *Decadas* published in his lifetime (1552, 1553, 1563); but the case of Diogo do Couto is much more complicated. Whereas none of Barros's original manuscripts for his *Decadas* has survived, and a potential editor is perforce limited to the first printed texts, subsequent editions of which are all

unsatisfactory in some degree, Couto rewrote several of his *Decadas* in whole or in part. We have several original manuscript versions, contemporary and contemporaneous, which differ substantially from each other, as well as from the first printed texts. The problem of *Decada VII* is particularly complex. Its various manuscript versions have been studied successively by António Baião (pp. i-cxxiv of his *Classicos Sá da Costa* edition, *Couto. Décadas. Seleção* 1947); by Fr. Georg Schurhammer S.J., (*Francis Xavier. His Life, His Times*, Vol. II, *India, 1541-1545*, pp. 612-620, Rome, 1977); by Dr António Coimbra Martins ('Sobre as Décadas que Diogo do Couto deixou inéditas', in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian*, Vol. III, pp. 272-355, Paris, 1971). Unfortunately, they raise as many questions as they answer; but for anybody working on Couto they are indispensable.

Fr. Schurhammer has shown that in its published form *Decada V* contained numerous passages which had been taken without the slightest acknowledgement from a manuscript treatise by Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., 'Estado da Índia e aonde tem o seu principio', compiled at the Augustinian convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça at Lisbon in 1603. In the 1612 *editio princeps*, these passages are specifically credited to Couto himself writing in the first person. Couto's *Decadas* were seen through the press at Lisbon by his brother-in-law, Fr. Adeodato da Trindade, O.E.S.A., who likewise lived at the Graça convent until his death at an unascertained date after 1617 (and *not* in 1605 as both Schurhammer and Coimbra Martins state, being misled by a misprint in Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*). That Fr. Adeodato was still alive in September 1617, is evident from the *cartas regias* cited by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A Historiografia Portuguesa*, Vol. I (1972), pp. 254-55 *n*. Whether Couto or Fr. Adeodato, or both, were responsible for plagiarising Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo in such shameless manner, is still to be resolved.

I myself possess yet another manuscript version of *Decada VII*, signed twice by Diogo do Couto but with the text in the hand of his usual amanuensis, who was probably a *Canarim*. This manuscript has a caligraphic pen-and-ink frontispiece in an architectural style, which does not appear in the printed version. It was probably the work of Fr. Adeodato, who is described by Barbosa Machado as having been one of the finest calligraphers of his day and generation. This manuscript version also contains significant

differences from both the 1616 printed text and from the other manuscript versions in the library of the Torre do Tombo described by Baião and which I have myself examined. I cannot go into details here, but will conclude this parenthesis on Couto by mentioning an erudite article by my friend and colleague, Dr Luis de Sousa Rebelo, 'Armas e Letras,' on pp. 426-53 of João José Cochofel (ed.), *Grande Dicionário da Literatura Portuguesa e de Teoria Literária*, I, Lisboa, 1973. On pp. 443-45 of this important article, Dr Sousa Rebelo shows conclusively that Couto was strongly influenced by Erasmian ideals, a fact which has escaped all of Couto's previous biographers.

Another prime need is a reliable edition of Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira's reminiscences of his military service in India, 1585-98, 'Reformação da milícia e Estado da Índia Oriental', bound up together with the narrative of his subsequent misadventures in Portugal, 'Discursos sobre a reformação da justiça da Comarca da Beira e Entre Douro & Minho' (British Museum Library, Additional Ms. 25, p. 419). The importance of this work is evident from the extracts published by A. de S. S. Costa Lobo over a century ago, *Memórias de um soldado da Índia*, (Lisboa, 1877).

Some people may feel that we have had more than enough on Fernão Mendes Pinto and his celebrated *Peregrinação*; but that new insights are still possible for this perennially fascinating work has recently been evidenced by Rebecca Catz, *Iconoclasm as 'a Literary technique: A study of the satiric devices used in the Peregrinação of Fernão Mendes Pinto* (forthcoming in a Portuguese translation at Lisbon, as I am informed).

(k) *Other possibilities for historical research.* Despite what I have just said about the importance of editing reliable texts of the *Decadas* and other works which are already available in print, it is obvious that the information contained therein is not nearly so important as the vast mass of documentary material which awaits exploitation in the archives at Goa, Lisbon, and elsewhere. Some indication of the possibilities for research in the Historical Archives at Goa-Panaji have been given above, and I will conclude by mentioning a few other possibilities here. Medical History is in the safe hands of Dr João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, M.D., and his son of the same name. The former has recently published an article on 'São Francisco Xavier. Tentativa de um estudo médico-histórico' (in the *Memórias de Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Classe*

*de Ciências*, Tomo XX, pp. 93-122, Lisboa, 1977), and the latter's erudite and well-documented articles on the interactions between Portuguese and Indian medical practitioners have been published in *The Luso-Brazilian Review*, in *Studia. Revista Semestral* and elsewhere. Professor Pierre-Yves Manguin is busy exploiting the wealth of documentation in The Goa-Panaji archives on the relations of Macao with Indochina and Indonesia in the 18th century.

As Professor M. N. Pearson has pointed out, and as most of you are undoubtedly aware, there is a completely untapped body of land and local government records in these archives—about 1,260 volumes in all, mostly in Marathi and Konkani. They cover, with many gaps in some instances, a period from 1582 to 1887. Pearson adds that in some cases it would probably be possible to trace the ownership and use of a piece of land from the sixteenth century to the present day ('The Goa Archives and Indian History', in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, XIII (4), 1974). Many aspects of local history, such as the caste system, can be researched entirely in Goa, using both the state archives and collections in the temples, if these latter exist and are made available to qualified researchers. Naturally, these researchers must know Konkani and Marathi as well as Portuguese.

A study of the Crown Tobacco Monopoly (*Estando de Tabaco*) would certainly be well worth doing, if, as I assume, there is sufficient documentation in the archives of Goa-Panaji. Who were the contractors, and/or the sub-contractors? What were the profits and/or losses at different periods, and how did the system function since its inauguration (in 1624, if I recall rightly)? I admit that I have no idea of the answers; but it is safe to assume that the tobacco-monopoly was of great socio-economic significance in *India Portuguesa*, as it was everywhere else where it existed in the old colonial world.

A valuable pioneer study on the role of the *Canarins* in Moçambique has been done by C. A. Hromnik, 'Canarins in the Rios de Cuama 1501-1576' (paper presented to the International Seminar on Asian Trading Minorities in Tropical Africa, Leiden, December 1975), pointing the way to future research in this field.

A final word on what the Americans term 'tools for research'. We have no adequate bibliographies of the old *Estado da Índia* as yet, but one has been compiled by Dr. Daya de Silva of Sri Lanka, and its publication is devoutly to be wished. It is a selective

bibliography covering the period 1498-1800, and it includes articles in periodicals as well as books and monographs.

The Portuguese adopted the Italian hand during the second half of the 16th-century, so the bulk of the documentation in the archives at Goa-Panaji presents few problems from a paleographical point of view; though naturally some scribes, clerks, and other individuals wrote in a better hand than did others. The *letra encadeada* (a running hand where words are all joined together, affected by legal clerks, notaries, and the like) does present some difficulties. Recourse may be had to the admirable work by Edwards Nunes, *Album de Paleografia Portuguesa* (Instituto de Alta Cultura, Lisboa, 1969). If this invaluable work has gone out of print, as I was told at the November Seminar, then the sooner it is reprinted the better.

Last not least, a tribute should be paid to the Director, Dr V. T. Gune, and the staff at the Historical Archives, Goa-Panaji. They have been consistently helpful to all serious researchers, as I can testify from personal experience. In fact, I could think of nothing more rewarding than a lengthy sojourn at Goa which would enable one to exploit the wealth of archival material there.

## Contributors

GENEVIEVE BOUCHON has studied Indo-Portuguese history in several works, including *Mamale de Cananor (1507-1528)*. She was Librarian of the School of Oriental Languages in Paris, and is now Professor in charge of research at the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, University of Paris.

C. R. BOXER, one of the most senior and respected historians of today, is the author of some forty books, including *The Christian Century in Japan* and *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*. He is Emeritus Camoens Professor of Portuguese, King's College, University of London.

JOHN CORREIA-AFONSO, S. J., Principal of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has been Secretary-General of the Society of Jesus, Rome. He has written *Jesuit Letters and Indian History*, and is Director of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay.

ASHIN DAS GUPTA specializes in maritime history and has written *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*. He has taught in the Universities of Oxford, Heidelberg and Virginia, and is at present Head of the Department of History, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

TEOTONIO R. DE SOUZA, S. J., has specialized in the 17th century socio-economic history of Goa, and has published *Medieval Goa*. He is at present Director of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Goa.

ANTHONY DISNEY has specialized in 17th century Portuguese colonial history, and published *Twilight of the Pepper Empire*, following several research papers. He is currently Senior Lecturer in History at La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia.

V. T. GUNE is the author of a great number of research papers

and several books. He has been Director of Archives and Archaeology, Goa, and has published the supplementary series of the *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* and a Guide to the Goa records.

A. M. MUNDADAN, C. M. I., has written extensively on ancient Christianity in India, including *The Arrival of the Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob* (1967). He is currently Professor of Church History and President of the Dharmaram Pontifical Institute, Bangalore, India.

G. V. SCAMMELL has long studied the European overseas expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries, on which he has written extensively. He has taught at Durham University, and is Director of Studies in History at Pembroke College, Cambridge.

A. DA SILVA REGO was for many years Director of the Filmo-teca Ultramarina Portuguesa and President of the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos in Lisbon. His historical works are too numerous and well known to be mentioned. He is retired in Lisbon.

LUIS FILIPE THOMAZ has specialized in the history of Portuguese expansion especially in Asia, on which he has published several papers. He has taught in Portuguese Timor and is currently teaching in the Faculty of Arts of Lisbon University.

J. WICKI, S. J., has long specialized in the history of the Portuguese in India during the 16th and 17th centuries. He is the editor of the monumental *Documenta Indica* (fourteen volumes so far) and other works, and Professor at the Gregorian University, Rome.

# Index

- Abeyasinghe, Tikiri, 145, 161  
 Acquaviva, Fr. General, 44  
 Adil Shah, 59, 60, 66, 71  
*aforamentos*, 157  
 Agra, 43  
 Akbar, the Great, 58, 60, 89  
 Albuquerque, Afonso de, 58, 111, 134, 168-70  
 Albuquerque, Viriato de, 184  
 Almeida, Pedro de, 187, 189  
 Ambolim 82, 83  
 Angamale, 41  
 Angrias, 30  
*Annales*, 143  
 Arcamone, Ignazio, 43, 44, 48  
 Archives, Casa da India, 103  
     Dutch East India Company, 176  
     European, 183  
     Goa Historical, v, 6, 19-21, 32, 111, 183, 186, 189, 194  
     Patriarchal, 121, 125  
     Procurator General's, 42  
     Propaganda, 46  
     Society of Jesus (Roman), 35  
     Torre de Tombo, vi, 19, 51, 72, 75, 87, 103, 109, 120, 143  
     Vatican, 35  
*Archivum Arcis*, 36  
*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 18  
*Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, 24  
 Assolna, 82, 83  
 Aubin, Jean, 98, 135, 188  
 Augustinians, 35; archives of, 47; mutiny of, 71  
 Aurangzeb, 58  
 Azevedo, Agostinho de, 191  
 Azevedo, Carlos de, 144  
 Azevedo, João Lucio de, 100  
 Aztecs, 168  
 Baião, Antonio, 73, 85, 112, 130, 191  
 Bandra, 84  
 Barbosa, Duarte, 89-91  
 Bardez, 26, 27, 28, 29  
 Barradas, Manoel, 79  
 Barretto, Manoel, 77, 83  
 Barros, João de, 97, 163, 172, 190  
 Bartholomaeo, Paulino a S., 37  
 Basham, A. L., 98  
 Bassein, 26, 29, 57, 61, 77, 83, 153, 155  
 Betim, 30, 83  
 Biblioteca Casanatense, 47  
 Biblioteca Publica (Braga), 42  
 Bijapur, 60  
 Board of Conscience, 120  
 Bocarro, Antonio, 19, 161  
 Bombay, 77, 80, 81  
 Borgia, Stefano, 37  
 Botelho, Simão, 106, 112  
 Bouchon, G., vi, 86, 98  
 Boxer, Charles, v, vi, vii, 20, 22, 85, 88, 97, 116, 129, 132, 146, 147, 153, 160, 161, 182-4  
 Bragança, Constantino de (Viceroy), 151  
 Braudel, Fernand, 143  
 Brito, Francisco da Assunção e, 125  
 Brito, John de, 42  
 Brito, Raquel Soeiro de, 144  
 Cabral, Pedro Alvares, 90, 92  
 Caetano, Marcelo, 133  
 Calicut, 34  
 Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, v, 135  
 Cambay, 102, 155  
 Canara (Kanara), 29, 62, 66  
 Cannanore, 57, 61  
 Caranja, 57, 82  
 Carmelites, Discalced, 70  
*Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 53, 111

- Cartazes*, 25  
 Cartography, ix  
 Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de, 96, 172  
 Caste system, 68  
 Castro, Mateus de, 45  
 Castro, Pedro de, 40  
 Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, v  
 Ceschi, Antonio, 43  
 Ceylon, 53, 65  
 Chaul, 43, 57  
 Christianity, Laws and Provisions in favour of, 31, 69; Christianization, 158; conflict with Muslims, 88  
 Cochín, 40, 41, 65, 83, 177; College, 84; King of, 59, 92, 168  
 Colleges, 31; Propaganda College, 46  
 Collis, M., 129  
 Conculim, 37  
 Congregations, 31; — for Propagation of the Faith, 35; Theatine, 115  
*Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, 9, 16; influence of, 11  
*Corpo Cronologico*, 110  
 Correa, Gaspar, 90, 96, 172  
 Correia-Afonso, John, vi, 4, 14, 16, 18, 72, 85, 113, 139, 162, 175  
 Correspondence, Military, 26  
 Cortes, Hernan, 163, 165, 168  
 Cortesão, Armando, 96, 112  
 Cortesão, Jaime, 96, 143  
 Coutinho, F., 129  
 Couto, Diogo, 6, 19, 69, 90, 136, 173, 186-7  
 Cowan, Sir Robert, 179  
 Cranganore, 41, 58, 61, 83  
 Croix, Fr. Etienne de la, 37  
 Customs, 27  
 Dadra and Nagar Avelly, 153  
 Daman and Diu, 26, 29, 30, 31, 57, 61  
 Danvers, F. C., v, 72, 96  
 Das Gupta, Ashin, viii, 174, 189  
 D'Elia, Pasquale M., 133  
 Dhabool, 61  
 Diamper, Synod of, 35, 41  
 Dias, Michael, 44  
 Disney, Anthony, vii, 145, 148  
*Documentação*, 17  
*Documenta Indica*, 2, 115  
*Documentos Remettidos da Índia*, 22, 52, 142  
 Dominicans, 69-70  
 D'Souza, B. G., 117  
 Dumont, L., 98  
 Dutch East India Company, 176-79  
 East India Company, 65  
 Elephanta Caves, 12  
 Eli, Kings of, 93  
*Epistolae S. Francisci*, 17, 18  
*Estado da Índia*, 144, 148-150, 152, 174, 186, 193  
 Ethiopia, 41  
*Examiner*, 15  
 Factories, 26, 27  
 Febvre, Lucien, 143  
 Felner, Jose da Lima, 96, 111  
 Fernandes, Gonçalo, 41  
 Fortresses, 27  
 Franciscans, 2, 10, 69; chronicles of, 4; history of, 9; historical value, 3; mission work, 10, 18  
 Franco, A., 7  
 Freire, Anselmo Braancamp, 96  
 Gama, Francisco da, 56, 69, 71  
 Gama, Vasco da, 34  
 Garcia, Francisco, 41  
 Ghafur, Mulla Abdul, 178, 181  
 Goa, archives, 51; arsenal of, 26; blockading of, 55-6; catalogues of Provinces, 40; Church organization and activity, 118-9, 125-6, 157; Council of State, 23; Father of the Christians, 120; fortifications, 57; friendship with Adil Shah, 60; historiography, vii, 114; influence of Church on economy, 122; Land Tenure System, 27; liberation, 20; Municipality, 27, 29, 58; relations with England, 56; relation with Rome, 35; Revenue Council, 24; Royal Hospital, 77, 81; Senate, 27, 29; social and religious aspects, 67, 91; village communities, 119, 120

- Godinho, V. M., vii, 100, 142-3, 153, 161, 175, 184  
 Gomes, Luis Gonzaga, 142, 147  
 Gonçalves, Diogo, 3, 41  
 Gonçalves, J. J., 129  
 Gonçalves, S., 3, 5, 7, 8, 14  
 Gonzaga, Francisco da, 10  
 Gujarat, Sultan of, 153-4  
 Gune, V. T., vi, 19, 21, 24, 141, 184  
  
 Hakluyt Society, 96, 98  
 Hanxleden, Ernst, 37  
 Hartmann, Anastasius, 42  
 Henriques, H., 36, 156  
 Heras, H., 20  
 Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, v, x  
 Hindu marriages, legislation, 66  
 Historical research, possibilities for, 192-3  
 Historiography, Indo-Portuguese, 86-7, 100, 117, 132  
 Hosten, H., 15  
 Hugli, 60  
 Hyder Ali, 30  
  
 Ibn Batuta, 88  
 Iconography, ix  
 Indian Council of Historical Research, viii  
 Indian costumes, 47  
 Indo-Portuguese History, International Seminar on, v-x; conclusions, ix; study of, 94  
 Inquisition, 32, 44, 71, 88, 120-21, 185; inventory of, 186  
 Institute Menezes Braganza, v  
 Institute of Jesuit History, 1, 137  
  
 Jacobs, Hubert, 137  
 Japan, 65, 139  
*Jesuit Letters and Indian History*, 4, 14, 16, 37, 84, 139  
 Jesuit Secretariat (Goa), 4  
 Jesuits, 2, 4, 35; activity at Mughal Court, 41; admission of Indians into the Order, 44; collections of letters from, 111, 140; in East Indies, 45; finances, 74, 76; missions, 70, 77; persecution of, 73; petitions of, 43; privileges to, 75; records pertaining to, 32; tension between Portuguese and foreign Jesuits, 44; works of, 3  
 John V, 187  
  
 Kane, P. V., 98  
 Kaneri, 43  
 Konkani Studies, revival, ix  
 Konkani Dictionary, 42  
 Kowalsky, N., 45  
 Krishna Deva Raya, 89  
 Kulkarni, A. R., viii  
  
 Labour, exploitation of, 127-8  
 Laimbeckhoven, Gottfried, 138  
 Lamalle, E., 42, 49  
 Leite, Sarafim, 75  
*Lendas da Índia*, 96  
 Leslie, William, 45  
 Linhares, Count of, 60  
 Lisbon University, ix; codices, 51; Sanskrit and Konkani Studies, ix  
*Livros das Monções*, vi, 21-2, 51-71  
 Logan, William, 96  
 Lopes, David, 96, 98, 143  
 Lopes, Felix, 9, 16, 18, 136, 146  
 Lucena, 5, 6, 8, 10; works of, 8  
  
 Macau, 53, 101  
 Madura, Naik of, 62, 70  
 Maffei, Giovan Pietro, 40  
 Mahim, 30  
 Malabar, 30, 32, 39, 41-2  
 Mangalore, 58, 65  
 Manuel, King, 93, 102, 109  
 Maratha-Portuguese Relations, 22  
 Marques, João Martins da Silva, 85  
 Martins, José F. Ferreira, 185  
 Mascarenhas, Fernando Martins, 76  
 Mascarenhas, Filipe, 54  
 Masulipatnam, 62  
 Meersman, A., 18  
 Meilink-Roelofs, M. A. P., 153  
 Menezes, Aleixo de, 35, 71, 189  
 Menezes, João da Silva Telo de, 54, 55  
 Metzler, J., 46, 50  
 Military discipline, 56

- Mitterwallner, Gritli von, 144  
 Monsoon Books, vi, 51-53, 57-58, 61  
 Mota, A. C. Teixeira da, 133  
 Mozambique, 30, 53  
 Mundadan A. M. vi, 1  
 Mylapur, 58  
 Mysore, 41
- Nagar Haveli, 30, 153  
 National Library of Lisbon, 6, 9  
 Negrão, Francisco, 10  
 Nobili, Robert de, 5, 13, 37, 42  
 Noronha, Antão de, 106  
 Nunes, Antonio, 112  
 Nunes, Fernão, 91
- Oriente Conquistado*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 121  
 Ormuz, 107  
 Orta, Garcia de, 6
- Padroado, 34, 35, 36, 48, 141  
 Panikkar, K. M., 148, 160  
 Pato, Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão, 52, 96, 113, 162  
 Paulo, Friar, 10, 12  
 Pearson, M. N., 132, 145, 161, 172, 182, 188, 194  
 Pegu, 107  
 Pereira, A. de Bragança, 20, 22, 23  
 Philip, King, 75, 78  
 Pinto, Fernão Mendes, 9, 192  
 Pires, Tomé, 90, 102  
 Pissurlencar, P., v, 20, 22, 23, 24, 32, 102, 112, 116, 129, 141, 184, 188  
 Pombal, Marquis of, 73  
 Popes: Leo XIII, 35; Paul V, 35; Pius VII, 38; Pius XI, 46  
 Portugal, administration and organization 104-108; cards for safe conduct, 25; communications, attention to, 55, 64, 152; Crown revenues, 150, 159, 160; establishment of power, 145, 163-8; historiography, 86-87, 100; intelligence reports, 109-110; possessions in India, 61; publication of works in, 133-4; recognition of independence, 55; regulations and instructions, 25; relationship with Mappillas, 90; religious history in colonies, 31; rivalry with British and Dutch, 64; Royal orders, 25; settlement and re-settlement of Christian Indians, 151; territories in India, 153-4; trade, 64, 101, 102, 107  
 Powell, B. H. Baden, 161  
 Prasad, S. N., ix  
 Priolkar, A. K., 185  
 Prostitution, 128  
 Pulicat, 62
- Quilon, 61
- Rachol, 31, 32  
 Ramnagar, Raja of, 22  
 Rego, A. da Silva, vi, 2, 17, 20, 46, 48, 51, 78, 96, 110, 115, 137, 162  
 Rego, Sebastião do, 115  
 Religious Orders, finances, 123; role as money lenders, 186  
 Rhodes, Alexandre de, 139  
 Ribeiro, Orlando, 145  
 Rivara, J. H. da Cunha, 19, 20, 116, 162  
 Rome, archives and libraries, 34-50  
 Russell-Wood, John, 185
- Sá, Artur Basilio de, 137  
 Salazar, Antonio, 133  
 Salcete, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 40  
 Saldanha, M., x  
 Sanceau, Elaine, 142  
 Sarkar, Jadunath, 176  
 Scammell, G., viii, 163, 189  
 Schmieder, Fr. G., 43  
 Schurhammer, Fr. G., 2, 7, 16, 17, 18, 49, 50, 136, 138, 191  
 Sebastian, King, 40, 75, 78  
 Sen, S. N., 20  
 Sergio, Antonio, 134, 143  
 Serrão, Joaquim V., 145, 191  
 Serrão, Joel, 85  
 Shivaji, 30  
 Silva, Daya de, 193  
 Silva, Pero da, 151  
 Slaves, 26; abolition of slavery, 124; slave-market, 124; registers of, 26; use of, 171

- Society of Jesus in India, 43  
 Socotra, 107,  
 Sofala, 27, 107  
 Sousa, Alfred Botelho de, 143  
 Souza, Francisco de, 3, 5, 7, 13, 121  
 Souza, Teotônio R. de, vii, 114, 129, 186  
 Spices, 65, 75, 102  
 Steensgaard, Niels, 153  
 Stephens, Thomas, 36  
 Streit, Robert, 141  
 Surat, 27, 43, 177, 181
- Tagore, Rabindranath, x  
 Tanner, Mathias, 14  
 Tanur, Raja of, 12, 13  
 Tarapur, 154  
 Tawney, R. H., 154  
 Teixeira de Aragão, 20, 51, 52, 117  
 Teixeira, Manuel, 144  
 Teschitel, J., 38  
 Thana, 61  
 Thomas-Christians, 35, 36  
 Thomaz, L, F., vi, 99  
 Tibet, 32, 41  
 Tipu, 30  
 Torres, José Maria da Silva, 125  
 Tranquebar, 62  
 Trigault, Nicolau, 6  
 Trindade, Adeodato da, 191
- Trindade, Paulo da, 3, 5, 9, 16, 18;  
 appreciation for Hinduism, 12; work  
 of, 11
- Usury, 127
- Valignano, Fr. A., 38, 44  
 Van Leur, J. C., 148, 181  
 Vatican, Archives, 35, 36; Council, 48  
 Veiga, Manuel de, 5  
 Velho, Diogo, 106  
 Velim, 82  
 Venice, 34  
 Vietnam, 139-40  
 Vijayanagar, 62; King of, 91  
 Village communes, 27, 28  
 Vingurla, 60
- Whiteway, R. S., v, 96, 189  
 Wicki, J., vi, 2, 7, 12, 17, 18, 34, 49, 50,  
 97, 115, 120, 130, 137  
 Winus, George D., 145
- Xavier, Filipe Nery, 20, 116, 129  
 Xavier, Francis, 2, 6, 7, 17, 44, 69, 146;  
 biography of, 10, 18, 138  
 Xavier, Jeronimo, 42
- Zamorins of Calicut, 59